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STUDIES IN HONOR OF
JOHN LEWIS HELLER

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The Editor welcomes contributions, which should not normally exceed twenty double-spaced typed pages, on any topic relevant to the elucidation of classical antiquity, its transmission or influence. Consistent with the maintenance of scholarly rigor, contributions are especially appropriate which deal with major questions of interpretation, or which are likely to interest a wider academic audience. Care should be taken in presentation to avoid technical jargon, and the trans-rational use of acronyms. *Homines cum hominibus loquimur.*

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JOHN LEWIS HELLER
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Preface

The current issue of *Illinois Classical Studies* is dedicated to Dr. John Lewis Heller, Professor Emeritus of the Classics at the University of Illinois and, from 1949-1966, Head of Department. A portrait will be found at the front of this volume, and a *vita* and list of publications at the end.

John Heller's patience and self-effacing kindness are known to us all. Called from Minnesota in 1949, following the shock of W. A. Oldfather's untimely death, he guided the Department during one of its most brilliant periods. His role as *maieutikos* and mentor in this renaissance of our studies both on and off campus was fittingly recognized at the national level in 1966 by his election as President of the American Philological Association.

Since his retirement, he has characteristically been busier than ever, and at long last has found time for the publication of his eagerly expected major works on Linnaeus, a fine example in our age of cross-disciplinary research! His gracious wife Suzanne has supported him over the years in bearing all the burdens of his calling and offices. The Department here and scholars from across the country and world join in saluting their honored colleague. *Ad multos annos!*

With this issue, the editorship of *Illinois Classical Studies* passes from its founder, Professor Miroslav Marcovich. The new editor takes this opportunity of expressing the inadequate thanks of the Department of the Classics for Professor Marcovich's heroic labors in our day in the service of classical scholarship. No one who has not wrestled with problems of finance, format, presentation, balanced contributions, editing, can fully appreciate the delicacy, subtlety, calm as well as firmness and bold resolution which Professor Marcovich has brought to his task. The seven numbers over which he has presided and the continuing lively growth of our journal will be his testimonial. *Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*

The incoming Responsible Editor would like to acknowledge the help of his Advisory Committee, Professors Bright, Browne, Jacobson and Gutoff. The reader will notice that a change has been made to a different format, thanks to the use of the UNIX* computerized typesetting system. Our typist has shown energy and determination in coping with a new keyboard. Frances Stickney Newman has devoted countless hours to the complex problems of formatting and presentation of demanding texts. Without her assistance this whole project would have been unthinkable. Timely advice was always forthcoming from Mr. Edmund DeWan of the Computing Services Office, University of Illinois; special thanks are also offered to Debbie Hudson and Darlene Hawkins for keeping the project moving. Professor Brian Dutton of the Department of Spanish, Italian and Portuguese offered help at crucial moments.

Dr. William Plater, Associate Director of the School of Humanities, inspired our metamorphosis and deserves particularly warm thanks for his generous support and advocacy of the new technology. His aid has been indispensable.

These changes are meant to serve a purpose. It is not for nothing that the professorship of Latin is, in certain Scottish universities, still known as the professorship of Humanity: and certainly the greatest humanist whom the new Editor had the privilege of encountering as a student was also a Latinist, Eduard Fraenkel. Just as Ennius was interpreted as speaking of himself when he described the friend of Geminus Servilius, so Fraenkel may be thought to have reflected his own deepest ideals when he described Wilamowitz:

Nor are there here (nor, for that matter, in anything that Wilamowitz wrote) any departmental barriers. For him there was no such thing as a watertight compartment of textual criticism, another of historical grammar, another of metre, another of history of religion, another of ancient law, and so forth. No single subsection of the technique of research was allowed to get the better of the rest: they had all to be subservient and to co-operate to one purpose only, the adequate interpretation of the text in hand.

These names are rightly and fittingly placed at the threshold of this new issue. When we forget their universality, we forget what makes our studies humane. *Nisi ad regulam, prava non corriges.*

J. K. Newman

*UNIX is a Trademark of Bell Laboratories.

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Some reflections on the 'penultimate' accent

W. SIDNEY ALLEN

Languages with fixed stress accents display a variety of positional rules. The initial syllable is stressed, for example, in Icelandic, Gaelic, Czech and Hungarian; the second syllable in some Amerindian languages; the final syllable in Armenian and many Turkic languages; the penultimate syllable in Welsh, Polish, and generally in the Bantu languages; the antepenultimate in Macedonian. Some languages show varying degrees of departure from the norm (generally connected with grammatical factors); and, as even the above selection illustrates, the rules may differ within a genetic group, thus implying changes of rule within the history of a given language. In Armenian also internal evidence points to an earlier penultimate stress.¹

In some other languages the position of the accent, though fixed, is subject to more complex rules, and Latin is a well-known example of this type. Although it is commonly referred to as the 'penultimate' rule, the penultimate syllable is in fact only stressed (in words of more than two syllables²) if it is heavy, that is, if the syllable contains a long vowel or has a closing consonant, as *re.lā.tus* or *re.fēc.tus*: otherwise the stress falls on the antepenultimate, whether heavy or light, as *nō.mi.na*, *cór.po.ra*, *dó.mi.nus* (and for this reason this type of accent will be referred to throughout as 'penultimate' in quotation marks). By this rule the final syllable is never stressed, and indeed its non-involvement may be seen as even more completely exclusive. The condition for the accentuation of a light (antepenultimate) syllable in Latin is that it must be followed by a light; the fact that a light

¹On Celtic and on Balto-Slavic cf. J. Kurylowitz, *Problèmes de linguistique indo-européenne* (Wrocław 1977), pp. 219 note 62, 223 ff.

²Disyllables require special consideration, and might best be treated in the context of a theory mentioned in the following note.

penultimate is not stressed even if the final is light (e.g. **facile*) could therefore be interpreted to mean that the final not only is itself unaccentable but also may not participate in the accentual environment.³

The few exceptions to the non-accentuation of the final syllable result from historical shortenings by contraction, syncope, or apocope of words in which the accent was formerly penultimate: thus e.g. *audīuit* > *audī*, *fūmāuit* > *fūmā*, *nostrātis* > *nostrās*, *tantō-ne* > *tantōn*, *illīce* > *illīc*, *illīnce* > *illīnc* (cf. Priscian, 2. 128-30; 3. 528 Keil).⁴ The result in all such cases is that the stressed final syllable ends with a long vowel plus a consonant ($\bar{v}c$) or a short vowel plus two consonants ($\check{v}cc$).

The 'weakening' of vowels in non-initial syllables in Latin is generally agreed to reflect a prehistoric initial stress accent, shared with other Italic dialects, and it is possible that the historic accent first arose in a secondary role. But, whatever its origin, the attested system, governed by the 'penultimate' rule, was fully established in its primary role by the classical period. What is remarkable about this system is that, in spite of its relative complexity as compared with many others, it is found, with minor variations, in certain other languages having rather remote or no genetic connections with Latin.

In Old Indo-Aryan a similar system at some stage replaced the inherited pitch accent of Vedic, and the rules differ from those of Latin only to the extent that there is an even greater preference for the stress to be carried by a heavy syllable: thus a light syllable is stressed only if it is initial in a word containing no heavy syllable before the final: e.g. Sanskrit *bharāmi*, *bharānti*, *bhāratī*, *udvējayatī* *dūhitaram*.⁶ It is as if the accent, starting with the penultimate syllable, 'seeks' a heavy syllable as its carrier, and settles on a light initial only *faute de mieux*. In its progress through the middle (Prakrit) period to the modern languages,

³I have elsewhere suggested (*Vox Latina*, [2nd ed. Cambridge 1978], pp. 91 ff.; cf. also J. Kurylowitz, "Latin and Germanic Metre," *English and Germanic Studies* 2 [1949], pp. 34 ff., repr. *Esquisses Linguistiques I*, [2nd ed. München 1973], pp. 281 ff.; *Problèmes de linguistique indo-européenne* [above, note 1], pp. 220 ff.) that in Latin two light syllables may form an accentual 'matrix', just as one heavy: in which case in e.g. *facile* the second syllable carries the coda of the accent (thus *facile* as e.g. *facētus*), so that in **facile* the final syllable would form part of the matrix. This analysis is not essential to the present discussion (though for Latin it would justify the removal of the quotation marks from 'penultimate').

⁴See M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, (München 1977), p. 239.

⁵In Indo-Aryan there is no short *e* or *o*; in Roman transcriptions length of these vowels is therefore not generally indicated: I have however marked it throughout because of its prosodic significance.

Indo-Aryan has undergone a number of consonantal and vocalic 'weak-enings', with the result that an earlier antepenultimate stress often comes to stand on the penultimate (e.g. *upadēhikā* 'white ant' > Prakrit *uvadēhī* > Marwari *udētī*) and a penultimate on the final (e.g. Skt. *carmakāra* 'cobbler' > Pkt. *camma(y)āra* > Hindi *camār*; *vyākhyāna* 'explanation' > *vakkhāṇa* > *bakhān*; *taravāri* 'sword' > *talvār*, etc.).⁷ The latter are reminiscent of cases like *fūmāt* and *illīc* in Latin; but in Indo-Aryan the examples are much more numerous, and they seem moreover to be more than just historical anomalies. It has been suggested by Hyman⁸ that one criterion for the synchronic, 'psychological reality' of a phonological rule might be whether it applied productively to recent loan-words from other languages. In this case it may be significant that in Hindi borrowings from Persian such as *dīvān* 'court', *sardār* 'officer' the same final stressing of $\bar{v}c$ applies as in native Hindi words. The sequence $\bar{v}c$ creates what one could term an 'overweight' syllable, since it contains a consonant in addition to the required \bar{v} . It is thus of interest that the same rule applies to words like *pasānd* 'choice', *darāxt* 'tree', with final $\bar{v}cc$, since these also could be regarded as overweight, containing a consonant additional to the required $\bar{v}c$. It might be argued that in such words it is simply a case of the original Persian accent (normally final) being preserved: but again there are indications that there is more to it than this. For in Persian loans like *kāmar* 'waist' the accent has been shifted in accordance with the basic 'penultimate' rule of Hindi, just as also in *hōṭāl* from English *hotél*; and in *agāst* from Eng. *Augúst* the accent has been shifted in accordance with the overweight-final rule. Similarly, if the Hindi derivative of a penultimately stressed Old Indo-Aryan word, through the process of apocope, would come to have final stress on a *non*-overweight syllable, the accent is shifted accordingly: thus e.g. Skt. *vilāmba* 'delay' > *bīlam*.

The accentual rules of classical Arabic⁹ seem to have been virtually identical with those of the modern Indo-Aryan languages like

⁶As opposed to Vedic pitch accentuations *bhārāmi*, *duhitāram*, etc.

⁷For references to various discussions of the Indo-Aryan stress accent see my *Accent and Rhythm*, (Cambridge 1973), pp. 157 ff.

⁸Larry M. Hyman, *Phonology: Theory and Analysis* (New York 1975), p. 66.

⁹These are in fact reconstructed from the modern dialects, and some Arabists prefer to speak of the 'historic stage common to the dialects' (H. Birkeland, *Stress Patterns in Arabic* [Avh. Norske Videnskaps-Ak. i Oslo, II Hist.-Fil. Kl., 1954, no. 3], p. 9) or 'koine' (C. A. Ferguson, Review of Birkeland, *Language* 32 [1956], p. 386): on the modern rules cf. my *Accent and Rhythm* (above, note 7), pp. 157, 165. There is inevitably some diversity of opinion about details of the reconstructed system, but the rules as stated here reflect the most general consensus.

Hindi, including the 'backward seeking'¹⁰ (e.g. *mukāṭabatun*, *ḡarabatak*, like Hindi [and Skt.] *kāmalinī*, etc.) and the stressing of overweight finals, as e.g. *kitāb* (thus stressed also as a loan-word in Hindi) or *ḡarābt*. It has been suggested that (pre-pausal) nominal forms like *kitāb* ('book') should be considered as derived (descriptively) from the context form *kitābu(n)*, to which the basic 'penultimate' rule applies. But there are other indications of the validity of the overweight-final rule, similar to those in Indo-Aryan. Words which in classical Arabic end in \bar{v} ? (long vowel plus glottal stop) in prepausal position lose the stop in modern dialects: the accent then recedes in accordance with the 'penultimate' rule (and the final vowel is shortened): thus e.g. *ṣaḡrāʿ* 'desert' > *ṣāḡra*. And foreign loan-words and names are subject to the overweight-final rule: thus Greek *kanōn*¹¹ 'rule' > *kānūn*, *Iōn* > *yūnān* 'Greece', *Plātōn* > *aflātūn*;¹² Aristotle (*Aristotélēs*) appears variously as *aristūtālīs*, *aristūtālis*, or in abbreviated form *arīstū*.

The patterns of English accentuation are less readily subject to purely phonological rules, but they show an undoubted similarity to those of Latin, which has often been commented on, as noted by Chomsky and Halle,¹³ who themselves refer to "the essential identity of [their approximate rule for English verbs and] the rule governing stress distribution in Latin";¹⁴ even more similar, in their formulation, is the rule for English nouns. But both rules have, as in Arabic and Indo-Aryan, to admit stressing of final syllables when these are overweight, as e.g. in verbal *decide*, *collapse* (with final $\bar{v}c$ or $\bar{v}cc$) and nominal *machine*, *cheroot* (with final $\bar{v}c$). In spite of their heroic attempts to reduce English stress to general rules, there remain very numerous exceptions to Chomsky and Halle's formulations, and there have been many attempts to improve on them. But, as stated by Goyvaerts and Pullum, "there are too many unresolved issues and unexplored possibilities arising out of SPE's third chapter for anyone to be able to have

¹⁰Though D. A. Abdo, "Stress and Arabic Phonology" (Diss. University of Illinois, 1969), p. 70, maintains that (as in Latin) it did not recede beyond the antepenultimate.

¹¹At the time of borrowing the Greek accent will have been stressed (replacing the classical pitch accent around 300 A.D.); as a corollary, significant vowel length had been lost: vowels in open stressed syllables were longer than others. But there are various distortions in the process of borrowing into Arabic.

¹²I have also encountered this in India as a secondary loan, with the same accentuation (Marwari *aphlāūn*, in the sense of 'a conceited person').

¹³See N. Chomsky and M. Halle, *The Sound Pattern of English* (New York 1968), p. 59, n. 3.

¹⁴P. 70, n. 15 (above, note 13).

the last word about English stress for very long.”¹⁵ This opinion is still modestly cited by L. Guierre in his *Essai* of 1979:¹⁶ but the detailed tables provided in that work show up at least a general statistical tendency behind the ‘approximate’ rule of Chomsky and Halle. Thus, from Tables 72, 77 (pp. 367, 373, with inventories pp. 793 ff.): of non-prefixed disyllables the proportion of final to initial accentuation for words ending in $\check{v}c$ is 103 : 2905 (= c. 3.4% of total), for words ending in $\check{v}cc$ 26 : 245 (= c. 9.9%), for words ending in \bar{v} 99 : 359 (= c. 21.6%), and for words ending in $\bar{v}c$ 241 : 336 (= c. 41.8%). Though in no case is final accentuation dominant over initial, the progressive scale of proportions, with $-\bar{v}c$ by far the most susceptible to stress, is interestingly reminiscent of another and apparently quite unconnected scale of statistical tendencies — in Greek epic verse.

By what is known as Naeke’s Law¹⁷ diaeresis is avoided after a spondaic fourth foot in the hexameters of Callimachus. In Homer, though there is a strong tendency to this constraint, the rule is much less rigorously observed (though absolute after the fifth foot), and it is the nature of the exceptions (numbering around a thousand), of which the majority are words or combinations of the type $(\check{v}) \check{v}--$, that is here of interest, with particular reference to the structure of the final syllable before the diaeresis. By far the most common exception here is the overweight type $-\bar{v}c$; relatively common also are words ending in the so-called ‘long diphthongs’, which could be analyzed as $\bar{v}y$ and so included in the same category. These two types account for over 90% of the exceptions. Very much less common is the occurrence of final \bar{v} ; and most rare of all in this position are the endings $\check{v}c$ and $\check{v}y$ (‘short diphthong’), the former being the subject of the so-called ‘Wernicke’s Law’.¹⁸ The pattern $-\check{v}cc$ is too rare in Greek to be significant.

The scale of exceptions to Naeke’s Law in Homer is thus $-\bar{v}c$ (max.): $-\bar{v}$: $-\check{v}c$ (min.), the same as for the exceptions to initial accentuation in English non-prefixed disyllables.

The constraints observed by Naeke’s Law are presumably connected with rhythmic requirements towards the end of the line, the pre-

¹⁵D. L. Goyvaerts and G. K. Pullum, ed., *Essays on The Sound Pattern of English* (Ghent 1975), p. 204.

¹⁶L. Guierre, *Essai sur l’accentuation en anglais contemporain* (Paris 1979), p. 56.

¹⁷A. F. Naeke, “Callimachi Hecale IV. V,” *Rheinisches Museum* 3 (1835), pp. 516 ff.

¹⁸F. W. Wernicke, ed. *Tryphiodorus* (1819), p. 173; on its statistical significance, however, cf. A. M. Devine and L. Stephens, “The Homeric hexameter and a basic principle of metrical theory,” *Classical Philology* 71 (1976), pp. 141 ff.

cise nature of which need not concern us.¹⁹ But an explanation of Wernicke's Law and of the exceptions to Naeke's Law readily suggests itself. A word of pattern (υ) υ - - ending in $\bar{v}c$ (including $\bar{v}y$) can be placed in earlier positions in the line if the next word begins with a vowel, since the final consonant (or glide) will then, in continuous speech (and in the most artificial cohesion of the verse-line), open the following syllable, so that the word will effectively end with \bar{v} , i.e. with a light syllable. A word ending in \bar{v} may also be thus placed by the principle of 'epic correption' (shortening of final long vowels in hiatus). But a word of this pattern ending in $\bar{v}c$ (including $\bar{v}y$) can practically only be placed at the fourth-foot diaeresis or at the end of the line;²⁰ and as Stifler has shown²¹ if the end of the line is occupied by another word of pattern (υ) υ - υ, or by a formula characteristic of end position (as e.g. ... *mōnukhas hippous*), the fourth-foot position is virtually imposed on such words if they are to be used as all. For a word ending in $\bar{v}c$ will have a heavy final syllable even if (as is usually the case) it is followed by an initial vowel, since, even after the transfer of the final consonant to the following initial, the word will still end with \bar{v} and therefore with a heavy syllable. One could thus say that words of pattern (υ) υ - - are used in the 'avoided' position only in inverse proportion to their potentialities of occurrence elsewhere. A line such as *Iliad* IX. 244 is typical of this principle: *khōomenos ho t' ariston Akhaiōn ouden eteisas*, illustrating the different treatment of *ariston* ($-\bar{v}c$) as υ - υ and *Akhaiōn* ($-\bar{v}c$) as υ - -. What Wernicke's Law says in effect is that Naeke's Law should not be breached by words like *ariston*, which can be used in other environments as in this example.

This explanation of the scale of preferences involved in the exceptions to Naeke's Law, together with the similarity of that scale to the scale of preferences for the stressing of English final syllables, may suggest a new look at final stressing in Arabic and modern Indo-Aryan as well as in English. In both Arabic and e.g. Hindi the type of syllable required for final accentuation (and favored in the English case) is the overweight syllable. In languages where the stress rules are linked to quantity, there is an evident advantage in this requirement, related to the Greek case examined above. In continuous speech such syllables

¹⁹I have discussed this question at length in *Accent and Rhythm* (above, note 7), pp. 283 ff. (with a brief summary in *Vox Graeca* [2nd edn., Cambridge 1974], pp. 120 ff., 161 ff.).

²⁰On constraints in earlier positions cf. my *Accent and Rhythm* (above, note 7), p. 291.

²¹T. Stifler, "Das Wernickesche Gesetz und die bukolische Dihärese," *Philologus* 79 (1924), p. 336.

will remain constantly heavy (and so accented) regardless of their environment, i.e. whether the following initial is a consonant or a vowel; whereas, if final stress were permitted on syllables of type -VC, the accent would shift according to environment. In Hindi, for example, one might have **bandār jāṭā hai* 'the monkey goes' beside *bāṇḍar āṭā hai* 'the monkey comes': whereas no such variation occurs if an accentuation **bandār* is excluded. In a word like *sardār*, on the other hand, the final quantity, and so accentuation, is unaffected by environment. The 'penultimate' rule applicable to *bāṇḍar* etc. thus ensures, by its disregard of the final syllable, that this accent will be constant. We could then reinterpret the 'penultimate' and overweight-final rules (excluding the special *faute de mieux* accentuation of light syllables) in terms of a single rule: stress the last *constantly* heavy syllable in the word.

We now finally return to Latin, viewing its accentual system in the light of the previous discussion. Here also the 'penultimate' rule precludes syntagmatic variation in continuous speech,²² and, as we have seen, final accentuation is limited to historical survivals of the type *illīc*, *illīnc*, in all of which the final syllable is of overweight structure. But there is no synchronic rule in Latin (or Sanskrit) prescribing final accentuation as in Arabic or modern Indo-Aryan: *hónōs*, *uirtūs*, *ambāgēs*, *fāciēs*, *princeps*, for example, follow the 'penultimate' rule. But there is evidence even in Latin for a feeling that stress on an overweight syllable (in words like *illīc*), though not synchronically prescribed, was more acceptable than stress on other types of final syllable. For when e.g. (nom. / acc.) **calcāri* underwent apocope to **calcār*, and the vowel was then regularly shortened before final *r*, the accent receded to give the attested *cālcār*; similarly **animāli* > *ánimāl* — both in accordance with the 'penultimate' rule. It might be argued that the apocope in such cases was earlier than in e.g. *illīc(e)* and antedated the development of the historical accent: but in addition, when Old Latin *aquāt* contracts to *aquae*, the stress is *áquae* and not **aquāe*.

It might therefore seem rather odd that the synchronic rules of Latin accentuation exclude the stressing of final overweight syllables; for, as in the other languages discussed, it would be immune to syntagmatic variation. Indeed, a rule which prescribed this might even be seen as having a certain paradigmatic advantage; for in words like *hónōs*, *uirtūs*, the stress of the nominative singular would then fall on

²²Elision in Latin (and vowel-sandhi rules in Sanskrit) would be a further source of syntagmatic accentual variation if final stress were permitted on words ending in a long vowel.

the same syllable as in other cases such as *honōris*, *honōribus*. Such forms, however, are relatively few, comprising only some with final *s* (or group containing *s*, as *atrōx*, *fēlīx*, *ferēns*), since before other single final consonants long vowels were shortened (cf. *āmōr* / *amōris*, and verbal *āmēm*, *āmēt* beside *amēs*). In any event some of those with final overweight syllables have light corresponding syllables in other cases, as e.g. *arbōs* / *ārboris*, *princeps* / *prīncipis*.

In some anisosyllabic paradigms, as we have seen, the actual rule too involves shifts of accent (cf. also *dominōrum* / *dōminīs* and verbal *amāmus*, *amātis* / *āmant*); but in others it does not — thus e.g. *ārbōs*, *princeps* above (cf. also *cīuium*, *cīuibus* as *cīuēs*, and verbal *fāciunt* as *fāci*). And in all isosyllabic forms the ‘penultimate’ rule ensures that the accent is constant: thus e.g. *dōminōs*, *dōminīs* as *dōminō*, *dōminī*, where an overweight-final rule would require **dominōs*, **dominīs*; similarly verbal *āmās*, *āmant* as *āmō*, *āmat*, where the final rule would require **amās*, **amant* (in the few historical survivals like *illīc*, *nostrās* no paradigmatic variation is involved).

One hesitates to suggest reasons for linguistic rules, but it remains an observable fact that in a relatively highly inflected language like Latin (or Sanskrit) an overweight-final stress rule would have more disadvantages than advantages. This does not apply in the same way to Arabic or modern Indo-Aryan (or, of course, to English). In Hindi, for example, the only case / number inflexions of *camār* (masc.) are voc. plur. *camārō*, oblique plur. *camārō*²³ and of *talvār* (fem.) direct plur. *talvārē*, obl. plur. *talvārō* (likewise the borrowed *kitāb*, *kitābē*, *kitābō*), with no accentual shifting. Similar considerations apply to the verb; a root such as *nikāl* ‘take out’ has a number of inflexional endings, as *-nā*, *-tā*, *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ē*, *-ī*, *-ī*, *-ō*, *-ū*, *-iyē*: but none of these involves a shift of accent (thus e.g. fem. sing. past *nikālī*, polite imper. *nikālīyē*); only in the future is there an inevitable shift (e.g. *nikālēgī*). In the singular of the Arabic noun the accent is likewise invariable: e.g. nom. *kitābu(n)*, acc. *kitāba(n)*, gen. *kitābi(n)* beside pre-pausal *kitāb* (plural and verbal forms in Arabic are not comparable because of the characteristic ‘internal’ flexion applying to many of these).

It was noted earlier that in Latin the final syllable, apart from its own non-accentuation, does not participate in the accentual environment. It will readily be seen that, if it did so participate, this too could result in syntagmatically variable stress, of the type **dominus* before an initial vowel beside *dōminus* before an initial consonant (since the final syllable would here be heavy and therefore the preceding light syllable

²³ indicates nasalization.

could not be stressed); it would thus have a similar result to that of permitting stress on final -vc syllables.

The 'penultimate' accent, as we have seen, occurs with remarkably similar rules in a variety of languages — all of them imposing some quantitative constraints on the accent (and all incidentally possessing significant distinctions of vowel length). One would not immediately think of such an accent, with its relatively complex rules, as a 'natural' independent choice in various languages, in the way that one might so think of, say, an absolutely initial or final accent.²⁴ And the kind of constraints applicable to the final accentuation where it does occur in the 'penultimate-rule' languages could possibly be interpreted as indicating that final stress is in some sense the 'target', the achievement of which is beset with difficulties for languages of this type (syntagmatic difficulties in all of them, but also paradigmatic in the more highly inflected). In speaking of 'difficulties' one is admittedly begging the question of the 'undesirability' of syntagmatically, and to some extent paradigmatically, variable accentuation.²⁵ With regard to the latter one could, however, note the principle in Vedic and ancient Greek of what de Saussure termed 'columnal' accentuation²⁶ (e.g. Ved. *pitá* : *pitáras*; Gk. *patér* : *patéres*, *melétē* : *melétai*), and the further extension of this in the stress-accented modern Greek in the case of certain nominal and most adjectival paradigms²⁷ (e.g. mod. *prásinos*, *prásino*, *prásinu*, *prásini*, *prásinus*, *prásinon* = anc. *prásinos*, *prásinon*, *prasinou*, *prásinoi*, *prásinous*, *prásinōn*).

There are of course languages with unconstrained final stress-accentuation, whether fixed or free; fixed, for example, in Armenian, free in Russian or modern Greek. It may or may not be significant that

²⁴Cf. Kurylowitz (above, note 1), p. 217 (where x_3 = init., x_2 = penult., x_1 = final): "... x_1 et x_3 se déterminent d'une façon *absolue*, comme final et initial; x_2 est défini de manière *relative* comme précédant la syllabe x_1 . La détermination absolue prime la détermination relative...." But even a simple penultimate accent (without quotation marks) would be less surprising than the 'penultimate' as an independent choice.

²⁵The same need not apply to non-accentual stress such as that I have suggested for ancient Greek (cf. *Accent and Rhythm*, [above, note 7], p. 295; *Vox Graeca* [above, note 19], p. 165). — Avoidance of syntagmatic variation in the melodic accent of Greek may possibly explain apparently anomalous accentuations such as *ánthrōpoi* (beside *anthrōpōis*): these could be seen as a generalization of the pre-vocalic environment, thereby avoiding a variation of the type *ánthrōpo.yV-* (like e.g. *ánthrōpo.sV-*) beside **anthrōpoi.C-*.

²⁶Cf. Kurylowitz (above, note 1), p. 225.

²⁷Cf. A. Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular* (Edinburgh 1912), p. 28 (tr. from *Hb. d. neugr. Volkssprache*, by S. Angus [2nd ed. Strassburg 1910]); F. W. Householder, K. Kazazis and A. Koutsoudas, *Reference Grammar of Literary Dhimotiki* (*International Journal of American Linguistics* 30, no. 2), pp. 54 ff.

in these particular languages there are no significant distinctions of vowel length:²⁸ more extensive typological study might here be of interest.

In summary, then, the trend of the above discussion is towards the rather risqué, if not outré, idea that, as Bentley said of claret that "it would be port if it could," so the 'penultimate' accent aspires to be ultimate, but is inhibited by constraints inherent in the quality of its ruies.

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²⁸The vowel transcribed as \bar{e} differed from e in Old Armenian only qualitatively. In Persian, "duration, which had phonemic relevance in antiquity, is gradually slipping into the background, i.e. from a basic feature it is becoming secondary, concomitant. The basic differentiation of vowels now consists in their qualitative classification" (V. S. Rastorgueva, *A short sketch of the grammar of Persian* [*International Journal of American Linguistics* 30, no. 1, 1964], p. 4): cf. also Š. G. Gaprindašvili and Dž. Š. Giunašvili, *Fonetika Persidskogo Jazyka I* (Tbilisi 1964), pp. 11 ff. (with further references).

Chalinus *armiger* in Plautus' *Casina*

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The first surviving occurrence of *armiger* meets us in Plautus, who uses the noun six times. Of these, one, the earliest, appears in *Merc.* 852, and all others define an important character of the *Casina*, the slave Chalinus. It is not immediately clear, when in the prologue of *Casina* (55) we first hear of the slave as armor-bearer, whether any nuances attach to the word. Since this matter has not been adequately studied (nor the significance of the armor-bearer in the comedy) I shall bring evidence to bear on *armiger* and show that the word was probably prosaic in its original usage, therefore in all likelihood introduced by Plautus himself, and consequently we should think of Chalinus as a lowly character, not the typical *servus urbanus* or *callidus*: he is a man whose physique and militant past operate more significantly in the comedy's themes than his cleverness.

The reader of Augustan poetry might well query my first point, for *armiger* as noun appears predominantly in poetry in the Augustan period, notably in the *Aeneid*,¹ and *armiger* as adjective seems to be

¹Vergil uses *armiger* six times: five in the nominative (*Aen.* II. 477, V. 255, IX. 564 and 648, XI. 32) and once in the accusative (IX. 330). In his commentary on II. 477, R. G. Austin wrote of the word: "a Plautine noun (*Merc.* 852, etc.), introduced by Virgil into high poetry" (p. 188). Such an assertion is a bit risky, since Cicero alone employs the word between the occurrences in Plautus and Vergil. But it must be admitted that Cicero does use it pejoratively in a manner consistent with Plautus, to describe a thuggish adherent of Clodius (*Dom.* 5. 13). Still, it might be more appropriate to hypothesize that Vergil introduced the *role* of the armor-bearer, not a Homeric type, into heroic epic. In Homer, we hear of charioteers and companions, free men who help the heroes, not armor-bearers (which seem more apt for hoplite warfare). Although Vergil never calls him such, *fidus Achates* sometimes serves Aeneas as armor-bearer: cf. *Aen.* I. 188 and 312. After Vergil, Ovid uses the noun *armiger* in the *Metamorphoses*. But Livy describes a heroic *armiger* at Trasimene (XXII. 6. 4).

exclusively poetic.² Compound nouns and adjectives with the suffix *-ger* enriched Latin poetic vocabulary throughout the Golden and Silver Ages, and many were of course revived from the epic of Ennius and other now-lost poems. However, if we go back to Plautus, whose *Mercator* definitely and *Casina* probably antedated Ennius' *Annales* — and besides we possess no attested instance of *armiger* in any work of Ennius — it seems quite evident that he uses the word without any hint of "poetic" flamboyance, without any allusion to either of the grand genres of epic or tragedy. Consider first the passage in the *Mercator*:

apparatus sum ut videtis: abicio superbiam;
egomet mihi comes, calator, equos, agaso, **armiger**,
egomet sum mihi imperator, idem egomet mihi oboedio,
egomet mihi fero quod usust. o Cupido, quantus es! (851-54)

Charinus, feeling very sorry for himself, plans to leave Athens over unhappy love, and he works on our sympathies by portraying himself as a one-man army, a poor little unattended soldier who is his own general. In the first line, he talks of abandoning his pride, and that prepares for the list of 852: not only is he his own companion (*comes*), but he is his slave attendant (*calator*), his horse, his groom (*agaso*), and finally his armor-bearer. In a normal military situation, it appears, Charinus would expect that his status would entitle him to take along at least three slaves, but in this pathetic instance he gives up any such claims, overpowered by Love. Each of the three slaves performs a specific function in the soldier's train: the prosaic aspects of the camp attendant (*calator*) and the groom (*agaso*) imply the prosaic nature of *armiger*.

It would help if we could determine whether Plautus was translating a specific Greek word and so taking over a familiar role from Greek comedy. What would be the Greek for "armor-bearer?" The slave who carried military gear in general was *σκευοφόρος*. Although the word is a compound, its usage is strictly prosaic, and Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon all employ it to refer to a somewhat contemptible servant with the negative associations of "camp-follower."³ Since the word is prosaic and appears nowhere in Menander, we can safely

²Cicero preserves as the earliest and sole pre-Augustan instance of the adjective a passage from Accius' tragedy *Philoctetes*, where the hero laments that he expends his arrows on birds rather than on warriors: *pinnigero, non armigero in corpore / tela exercentur haec* (*Fam.* VII. 33). For the Augustan revival, see Propertius III. 4. 8 and III. 11. 10.

³See Herodotus VII. 40, Thucydides II. 79. 6, and Xenophon *Anab.* III. 2. 28. In the Vulgate accounts of the wars of Saul and his son Jonathan, the Latin *armiger* renders the Greek "he who carries his [master's] gear (τὰ σκεύη)." See I *Reg.* 14. 1 and I *Par.* 10. 4.

infer that Plautus is not translating it from his comic sources Philemon and Diphilos. 'Οπλοφόρος, which refers to a man bearing weapons, seems always to denote a soldier, never a slave; and it never appears in comic verse. Δορυφόρος can refer to a slave who bears his master's spear.⁴ Instead of offensive arms, the bearer may carry his master's heavy shield on the long marches before actual combat: ἀσπιδηφόρος, though used in tragedy, applies only to soldiers,⁵ but ὑπασπιστής may be used to describe the slave shield-bearer. As such, ὑπασπιστής functions commonly in prose and verse: it fits the trimeter easily and can be found in Aeschylus (ὑπασπιστήρ), Euripides, and in Menander's *Shield* 61 (though in the latter case *not* necessarily referring to slaves, certainly not to Daos, the soldier's attendant who makes his entrance carrying the shield of his supposedly dead master).⁶

Greek New Comedy has left us such fragmentary remains, then, that we cannot locate with certainty the Greek word that Plautus may be translating as *armiger* here. Can we at least find in the comic remains some slaves who fulfilled the functions of armor-bearers even though not so named? I cited above Daos, who does carry a shield in the solemn opening procession of Menander's *Shield* and who describes it in tragic manner (*Asp.* 14-17). However, it is clear that Daos was not present at the fatal battle. This probably implies that he did not characteristically carry his master's shield and that this moment is especially poignant precisely because the slave, not the master, bears the shield. In two plays, slaves carry on their master's military cloak and sword. Sosias has these two items in *Perikeir.* 354-55 as he enters and prepares to storm the house where Glykera has taken refuge; Moschion directs his slave to go indoors and get the same two items (*Samia* 659-60), and after a time the slave Parmeno returns with them (687). Sosias' master is a soldier, so he is by definition a soldier's attendant, but not exclusively an armor-bearer. As for Moschion, he merely pretends to be going off on mercenary service. No doubt Parmeno, who knows nothing of the pretense, fears that he will be obliged to go along to the wars as an attendant, but again, if he did go, he would not be limited to carrying armor.⁷ Thus, at present, Greek New Comedy has transmitted

⁴J. Kromayer and G. Veith, *Heerwesen und Kriegführung der Griechen und Römer* (Munich 1928), p. 40, use this term of the hoplite's slave who performs this function.

⁵Cf. Aeschylus, *Septem* 19, and Euripides, *Suppl.* 390.

⁶For the normal role of the shield-bearer, a slave or subordinate, see Kromayer-Veith, p. 40, and Herodotus V. 111. For his role in tragedy, see Aeschylus, *Suppl.* 182, and Euripides, *Phoen.* 1213 and *Rhesus* 2.

⁷Getas in Menander's *Misoumenos* and Pyrrhias in his *Sikyoniotes* are servants of professional soldiers, but we see them under peacetime circumstances, in a Greek city, and

to us neither the original Greek word behind *armiger* nor a character who regularly bears arms for a soldier. Although we know that there were slaves in 4th century Greece who did bear arms for their masters, it does not appear at present that Greek New Comedy possessed a well-defined comic prototype for Plautus' *armiger* Chalinus. And so we must now turn to Chalinus himself, to see how the Latin comic poet represents him.

Between the early *Mercator* and the late *Casina*, Plautus had occasion to introduce soldiers' attendants into several plays. We may ignore one type of companion, the parasite, a free man who accompanies the soldier mainly in peacetime and in a civilian setting, as in the *Miles* or *Bacchides*. Of the slave-types named in the *Mercator* 852, we never hear again about *agaso*, but *calator* does recur. The writer of *argumentum* II for the *Pseudolus* calls *calator* the soldier's servant who comes for the girl he has bought from the pimp.⁸ His word-choice is justified by Plautus' own term in the letter which introduces the impersonator Simia: *Harpax calator meus est ad te qui venit* (1009). The real Harpax appears in military attire and wears a sword (593), and he seems to be defined as a fiercely loyal slave. The same *argumentum* offers as a synonym for *calator* the word *cacula* (13, 14), and that, too, can be found in Plautus. In the *Trinummus*, the slave Stasimus expresses great anxiety over the insistence of his master Lesbonicus that his last possession should be sacrificed to pay the dowry of his sister, because then Lesbonicus will have no option but to become a mercenary and take Stasimus with him:

quid ego nunc agam,
nisi uti sarcinam constringam et clupeum ad dorsum accommodem,
fulmentas iubeam suppingi socco? non sisti potest.
video **caculam** militarem me futurum hau longius. (718-21)

As he pictures his grim future, Stasimus will be carrying a pack, have a shield on his back and boots on his feet. Earlier, he added to the list of gear a helmet (*galea*, 596). Apparently, he expects to be pushed into battle, but Stasimus knows that he will be a skulker and avoid danger (723 ff.). In short, Stasimus plays the role of a citified slave who knows that military life is not for him and that he will funk it; he resembles rather closely the cowardly slave Sosia of the *Amphitryo* who did in fact flee, as he freely admits, while his master was heroically battling the enemy (*Amph.* 199-200). Thus, by the time he wrote the

we receive no impression of their military functions.

⁸*Pseud.* Arg. II. 9: *calator militaris*. In *Rudens* 335, Plautus uses the noun to refer to Trachalio, the slave of a civilian. Caesar's word for a soldier's servant, *calo*, can also be

Casina, Plautus had developed a vocabulary and general typology for soldiers' servants. *Calator* or *cacula* properly defined any military servant, but the professional soldier tended to have a faithful and, on the whole, soldierly servant, whereas the citizen soldier would have a most reluctant and malingering follower. As we shall see, Chalinus seems to have been the attendant of Euthynicus, a citizen soldier, but he possesses none of the cowardly qualities of a Stasimus or Sosia. By calling him *armiger* instead of *calator* or *cacula*, Plautus probably alerts his audience to special aspects of the role.

From the first time he is mentioned, in the prologue (55), the *armiger* stands in opposition to the manager of the country estate (*vilius*, 52), Chalinus acting on behalf of his young master, the bailiff Olympio serving the corrupt erotic interests of old Lysidamus. The curious point is, that Chalinus does not seem to be an armor-bearer at present. Although Euthynicus has left home, he has done so after commissioning his armor-bearer to woo Casina, and he has left only because his lusty father has sent him off on some pretext (62). Commentators, therefore, reconstruct the chronology as follows. (1) Earlier, Euthynicus had served time as a soldier, and Chalinus had been his *armiger*. (2) At the end of his service, Euthynicus had returned to Athens with Chalinus and fallen in love with Casina. (3) His jealous father Lysidamus had gotten him out of the way by sending him abroad (*peregre*), presumably now on business matters. (4) Chalinus, former *armiger*, remained in Athens to promote Euthynicus' interests, now with the enthusiastic support of the boy's mother, the intrepid wife of Lysidamus.⁹ So once again Plautus' choice of the word *armiger* causes surprise and attracts attention. Where he might easily have rendered the dramatic antagonism between Chalinus and Olympio as the familiar opposition of *urbanus* and *rusticus*, he has deliberately lowered the status of Chalinus and raised that of the country-dweller.

In the standard confrontation between the country and city slaves, the *rusticus* loses out to the ready wit and articulateness of the *urbanus*, although he may have morality on his side. Thus, at the start of the *Mostellaria*, Grumio, mocked by the cleverness of Tranio, *urbanus scurra* (15), helps to define the attractive rogue who will become the central character of the comedy. By contrast, when Olympio and Chalinus argue in the opening scene of the *Casina*, Olympio dominates the confrontation by his words and his confidence, and the few cracks

used generally of low servants.

⁹For this chronological scheme, cf. the useful notes of MacCary and Willcock in their commentary on *Casina* (Cambridge 1976), at 55 and 62.

that Chalinus gets in against his rustic occupation make little impression. Chalinus does not emerge as the clever slave or potential rogue, and his decision to follow Olympio around like his shadow (92) seems neither clever nor helpful in blocking Olympio's marriage to Casina.

Olympio's confidence rests upon two strong bases. In the first place, he has the active support of his old master Lysidamus, whereas Chalinus has lost the assistance of the now-absent young master Euthynicus. Moreover, as *vilicus*, managing the country estate of the family, he automatically towers above Chalinus, whose only definable quality connects him not with the home and its economic functions, but with the temporary military service of Euthynicus, an event *of the past*. Chalinus has no apparent function in the home, now that his armor-bearing days have ended. The superiority of Olympio receives further biased presentation by Lysidamus himself. Why, he asks his wife, could you possibly want to marry Casina to a worthless armor-bearer rather than to a reliable, provident slave like Olympio, who can keep a wife comfortably and raise their children properly? He is very concerned for Casina, he asserts,

ut detur nuptum nostro vilico,
servo frugi atque ubi illi bene sit ligno, aqua calida, cibo,
vestimentis, ubique educat pueros quos pariat <sibi>,
quam illi servo nequam des, **armigero nili atque improbo**,
quoi homini hodie peculi nummus non est plumbeus. (254-58)¹⁰

He makes the same comparison succinctly ten lines later:

ut enim frugi servo detur potius quam servo improbo. (268)

And he further depreciates Chalinus by taking off from *armiger* and sneering at him as a "mere shield-bearer":

qui, malum, homini **scutigerulo** dare lubet? (262)

We are well into the comedy by this point, and Plautus has consistently rigged speech and action to subordinate Chalinus to Olympio, not least in the choice of the defining substantive *armiger*. Thus, I would differ with Casson who, in his excellent translation of this play, introduces Chalinus to the reader as a man who "is the precise opposite of Olympio: immaculate, sophisticated, unmistakably a product of the city."¹¹ Plautus emphasizes quite different qualities in Chalinus and a much more interesting opposition with Olympio. Without Euthynicus, in relation to whom he alone possesses a [former] function, he would seem to be what Lysidamus calls him, a cipher. But subsequently

¹⁰MacCary and Willcock call *armigero* in 257 a "term of abuse."

¹¹Lionel Casson, *Six Plays of Plautus* (Anchor edition, New York 1960), p. 117.

scenes begin to alter the emphasis. Master and mistress agree to try separately to dissuade the other's candidate for Casina. Cleustrata deals with Olympio offstage, apparently resorting to threats, which he parries. Plautus stages the confrontation between Chalinus and Lysidamus. Summoned from the house, Chalinus asks brusquely what his master wants. Further to point up the servant's manner, Lysidamus protests at the scowl on his face and his grim attitude toward himself (281-82). What Chalinus does in response to that is not clear, for the master continues directly with an outright lie: *probum et frugi hominem iam pridem esse arbitror* (283). He contradicts what he was so indignantly saying to his wife just a few minutes ago. And Chalinus, who recognizes the lie, answers impudently: "If you think me so, why don't you free me?" That leads up to the tempting choice his master sets before him: to be a free man and unmarried or to live out his days as a slave-husband (290-91). Chalinus spurns the temptation and insists on marrying Casina. He has a strong character.

During the great lot-drawing scene, which gave the original play of Diphilos its title, another significant detail receives emphasis. Although to my mind Plautus pretty well balances the repartee between the two slaves, at a certain point he suggests an important contrast between their physical strengths and endurance. In his impatience with Chalinus' impertinence, Lysidamus orders Olympio to bash him in the face (404). Chalinus says nothing, but Cleustrata warns Olympio not to raise his hand. Olympio goes ahead and slugs Chalinus, who still says nothing. It is Cleustrata who indignantly protests (406) and orders Chalinus to pound Olympio's jaw in return (407). At the blow Olympio cries out with pain and appeals to Lysidamus: *perii, pugnis caedor* (407). In this exchange of punches, the result is amazing if we view Olympio as a 250-pound bruiser and Chalinus as an immaculate city-slicker.¹² But if Chalinus has appeared from the beginning as a rugged soldierly man of strapping physique, his ability to take Olympio's punch silently, then give back more than he got, would make sense. It will obviously prove necessary that he be physically stronger than Olympio. A second point to notice in this episode is that Chalinus does not act until prompted by his mistress Cleustrata. Throughout the play, Chalinus remains a secondary character, not an independent *servus callidus*, and all that he does accomplish results from the plans and clever direction of Cleustrata.

¹²This is essentially Casson's vivid conception of the way Plautus contrasts these two roles: see above, note 11.

Although right seems to be on their side, Chalinus and Cleustrata lose in the lot-drawing, and the first round of the contest between husband and wife ends with a seemingly total victory for Lysidamus and his agent Olympio, who chortles in a maddening way: "It all came about because of my own *pietas* and that of my [non-existent] noble ancestors" (418). Chalinus considers hanging himself in despair, but then decides with good sense that he won't be much use dead. And at that moment, Lysidamus and Olympio come outdoors, unaware of his presence, and expose themselves to his eavesdropping, what he militantly calls his "ambush" (436). What he learns about their grubby plot raises his spirits, and he exults at the end of the scene that the tables have now been turned; the vanquished are now victorious (*iam victi vicimus*, 510).

Now will begin a series of actions against Lysidamus and Olympio, all initiated by Cleustrata, which at first will only delay the inevitable, but finally, through a surprise use of Chalinus *armiger*, will utterly confound the guilty pair. Chalinus exits at 514. We do not even hear of him again until 769, and do not see him on stage until 814. During his absence, however, occurs a long lyric, excitedly comic scene (621-758) which derives its impetus from a fiction invented by Cleustrata about a sword-brandishing Casina. Like a tragic messenger, a servant rushes screaming from the house to announce a "tragic situation" indoors to the quaking Lysidamus: Casina has seized a sword, no, two swords (692), and she threatens to kill any man who tries to violate her virginity. MacCary reminds us of the murderous *Danaïdes*,¹³ a similar tragic plot recurs in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*. Some critics have suspected this episode, because it seems so self-contained, as an addition of Plautus, but I agree with those who regard it as a Plautine lyrical expansion of a nucleus from the Greek original.¹⁴ Among his additions might be the second sword, added to enhance the humor.¹⁵ However, what especially concerns us is the way the theme of weapons and

¹³W. T. MacCary, "The Comic Tradition and Comic Structures in Diphilos' *Kleroumenoi*," *Hermes* 101 (1973), pp. 194-208, and "Patterns of Myth, Ritual, and Comedy in Plautus' *Casina*," *Texas Studies in Lit. & Lang.* 15 (1974), p. 887.

¹⁴For this position, see MacCary, on structure in Diphilos' original (above, note 13), and further discussion in MacCary and Willcock; for the most recent re-assertion of sharp differences between Diphilos and Plautus, in this and other scenes, see E. Lefèvre, "Plautus Studien III: von der Tyche-Herrschaft in Diphilos' *Kleroumenoi* zum Triummatronat der *Casina*," *Hermes* 107 (1979), pp. 311-339. Lefèvre has now been criticized by M. Waltenberger, "Plautus' *Casina* und die Methode der Analyse," *Hermes* 109 (1981), pp. 440-47.

¹⁵So MacCary *ad loc.* Lefèvre 331-32 of course assumes that all the farcical features here are Plautine.

violence now becomes, through this fiction, attached to the audience's idea of Casina. We might say that Casina has taken over the virile role of *armiger* from Chalinus, as his temporary substitute. But since the girl Casina remains absent, always expected, this imaginary mad scene serves to set up the final episode, when Chalinus *armiger* returns to impersonate bride Casina.

Cleustrata's servant Pardalisca announces to us this final phase of her mistress' cleverness, and here Plautus employs for the fifth and last time in this play *armiger*, to clarify the comic paradox of a rugged soldier dressed as bride and given in marriage to the bailiff Olympio:

illaec autem **armigerum** ilico exornant duae
quem dent pro Casina nuptum nostro vilico. (769-70)

The entrance of "bride" Chalinus initiates a final brilliant sequence of lyric, the longest such sequence in this or any comedy of Plautus. As Lysidamus and Olympio impatiently sing the marriage-song outside, the door finally opens and Lysidamus sighs in relief. The next comment, an aside to the audience, comes from Chalinus, Pardalisca, or the chief plotter Cleustrata: "Our Casinus can be smelled from a distance" (*iam oboluit Casinus procul*, 814).¹⁶ Once Cleustrata delivers the bride over to Olympio and retires indoors, the two men begin to express their erotic purposes both verbally and manually. Chalinus cannot risk a word, of course, but he defends his body with vigor. As Olympio exclaims over, and tries to caress, his bride's "soft little body" (843), his foot is stamped on with the force, he thinks, of an elephant. Although amazed, he continues to try to explore that body and receives next an elbow in his ribs that feels like a battering ram (849). The Roman audience would no doubt think of Hannibal's elephants and recent uses of the ram in military engagements, and they would relish the dramatic irony of the soldier-bride who reveals his basic militant nature. These two comparisons, at any rate, set up a purely Plautine pun that cannot have appeared in Diphilos' Greek. Lysidamus scolds Olympio for touching the bride so roughly and then confidently asserts: "Watch me. She doesn't make *war* with me because I touch her so *warily*" (*at mihi, qui belle hanc tracto, non bellum facit*, 851). So saying, he does touch "her", and immediately cries out with pain, staggers, and comments on her strength that has nearly knocked him flat. But since in this broad comic development of Plautus, the lecherous fools must not perceive the obvious significance of the bride's tremendous warlike strength, the scene concludes with two more purely Latin puns, and all three enter

¹⁶MacCary and Willcock debate the claims of Chalinus and Pardalisca, then decide for the latter. Lindsay assigned the sentence to Chalinus, Casson to Cleustrata.

next door for the long-awaited wedding night. Olympio's last words remind us, I think, of the earlier pun: *i, belle belliatula* (854).¹⁷

When next we see Olympio, he is running for his life, stripped down to his undergarment and obviously in pain. As the tragic messenger of his own shameful "tragedy," he reports his disastrous efforts to bed the bride before Lysidamus. Although all manuscripts reveal bad damage to the archetype here, we can recover at least one key sequence that revives the weapon-theme. And now the sword serves not only as the literal symbol of masculinity and physical strength but also as the metaphor of male sexuality. Plautus has pushed the possibilities of *armiger* to their richest comic conclusion, in something atypical of Greek New Comedy but closely resembling Aristophanes.¹⁸ As Olympio was exploring the body of his bride by touch, he felt something large, very large. Afraid that it was a sword, he began to check, and he grabbed what he thought was the hilt (909). But now that he thinks about it, that was no sword, for it would have been cold. The women continue to tease Olympio to explain what the huge thing was, but he either can't or won't work the obvious out for them. In any case, his charming bride has kicked, punched, and bruised him, and he has rushed out of bed and house in a comic state of disrepair.

Shortly after this, Lysidamus emerges in an even worse condition: he too has left his cloak behind and appears in an undergarment; he too has been beaten; but he has also lost his staff, the symbol of his authority. Close behind him comes Chalinus in his bridal gown, brandishing that very staff and threatening to beat the aged lover with it outdoors as he obviously has done indoors. The *armiger* has thus overpowered the rustic *vilicus*, and he has seized the staff of Lysidamus and turned it into a weapon with which he has rightly struck his own master. For a few fine moments, this despised armor-bearer, ridiculously dressed in bridal saffron that hardly conceals his muscles, possesses the cloak and staff of Lysidamus and asserts his moral as well as physical superiority over the corrupt old man and Olympio. Then, Cleustrata

¹⁷ There seems no doubt that the reading of *A* is correct: Plautus has formed a unique diminutive from the otherwise unique form *belliata*, which he invented for *Rudens* 463, and the girl is being addressed as the *meretrix* in *Asin.* 676, *i sane bella belle*. However, *belliatula* appears in *P* as *bellatula*, as though the scribe imagined "a little warrior" rather than "a little beauty."

¹⁸ Of course, Aristophanes would have had no hesitation in staging the scene which Plautus merely reports. Thus, in the *Lysistrata*, when the herald from Sparta enters, in a state of sexual excitement, the poet plays on the supposed confusion between a spear and his erect member. For references to the sword in a similar sexual sense, see J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (Yale University Press 1975), under #58, *xsiphos* (p. 122).

intervenes and compels the slave to return his booty and to revert to his normal status (1009).

I have attempted to show that Plautus introduced the word *armiger* into the Latin language and that it possesses no poetic overtones in its first usage, the *Mercator*, and even less in the five occurrences of the *Casina*. In fact, *armiger* helps to define Chalinus from the beginning as a slave of little account. At first, we see him mainly in the hostile terms of his antagonists; he cannot match the verbal assault or the status of Olympio *vilicus*, and his old master Lysidamus scorns him as a mere shield-bearer, a worthless scoundrel. However, the terms of that opposition provide some clues as to his appearance and characterization; they imply that he cannot be a citified type, articulate and well-groomed (like Tranio of the *Mostellaria*), but rather that he retains his military bearing and shows the tough physique of a campaigner. Thus, he emerges as a new type for the Greek comedy behind Plautus and for Plautus himself, not the cowardly *cacula militaris* but the valiant *armiger*. After reaching a low point of despair as a result of the lot-drawing, Chalinus *armiger* begins to recover importance, though less from his own efforts than because of the energetic plans of his mistress Cleustrata. Instead of a defensive type, with a shield, we come to think of him as aggressive: punching, beating, and wielding a sword. Plautus first introduces the sword as a fictional threat connected with Casina, whom we constantly expect to make her entrance. But when Casina does enter, she has become Casinus: Chalinus *armiger* has replaced her, and his sexual sword and powerful fists complete the "rout" of Olympio and Lysidamus, the "victory" of Cleustrata. This final comedy of Plautus contains many brilliant comic touches and a superior display of lyrical virtuosity. Not the least of its achievements, however, is the special presentation of Chalinus *armiger*.¹⁹

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¹⁹I leave it to others to draw the appropriate conclusions for Roman social history from the special creation of this slave-soldier type in the *Casina*. Having earlier mocked the professional soldier as a cowardly braggart, having depicted slaves as cowardly soldiers or "heroes" only in metaphorically military terms, Plautus in his final play shows some sympathy for the mere trooper. The ordinary masses in his audience would readily respond to such a characterization of Chalinus, in my opinion.

Ennius Lyricus

GEORGE SHEETS

In the prologue to his *Andria*, Terence defends himself against a charge of literary incompetence. He has been accused of spoiling his Menandrian model by interpolating material from a second Greek play into the Latin version — the practice which modern scholars call *contaminatio*.¹ Terence does not deny the charge. Instead he willingly admits it and justifies himself through the precedent set by Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius. With heavy irony he adds that he would rather emulate their “carelessness” (*neclegentiam*) than the muddled pedantry (*obscuram diligentiam*) practiced by his critics.² *Neclegentia* seems to express an attitude of independence vis-à-vis Greek models, a freedom to borrow from them selectively and to adapt them without any constraints other than the artistic principles which the adapter formulates for himself. The superiority of *neclegentia* over the *obscura diligentia* of the purists is again argued, by implication, in the prologue to the *Eunuch*. Terence there states that his critics, through accurate translation (*bene vortendo*), turn good Greek plays into bad Latin ones.³ It is well known that the attitude behind *neclegentia*, even if called by a different name, was to remain a fundamental principle of Roman literary creativity.⁴ Its effects range from minor formal alterations, like the senarius as opposed to the trimeter, to major aesthetic transformations, like the *contaminatio* of Achilles and Odysseus in Aeneas.

¹ *An.* 15-16: *Id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant / contaminari non decere fabulas.*

² *An.* 20-21.

³ *Eu.* 7-8; cf. *He.* 16-19, *Ad.* 14.

⁴ E.g., Horace, *A.P.* 131-34: *Publica materies privati iuris erit, si / non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem, / nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus / interpres.*

Ennius, as Terence said, helped to set the precedent for *neclegentia* in subsequent Roman literature. Terence was referring to drama, but the same observation could have been made of the *Annales*. The proem to book I of that work provides a good example. Ennius there portrayed himself as learning in a dream that he was Homer reincarnate. This revelation seems to have occurred in a scene which was intended to evoke the encounter of Hesiod with the Muses on Mount Helicon (*Theogony* 22-35).⁵ Thus the proem involves a *contaminatio* of what, from an Alexandrian point of view, were two distinct epic traditions, the Homeric and the Hesiodic. There can be no doubt that Ennius was aware of the critical issues which distinguished the two traditions in Alexandrian theory, since in this same passage he also styled himself a Callimachean.⁶ A reborn Homer experiences the privileged initiation of Hesiod and retravels the aesthetic journey of Callimachus. Thus the first and best poet of a grand and heroic theme, a theme

⁵The situational parallels seem too close to admit of any other interpretation. Hesiod encounters the Muses on the slopes of Helicon. They know what is false and what is true, and they instruct him (22) on his theme. Further, they breathe an ἀνδρὶ θεῶσιν into him so that he may celebrate the events of the past and foretell those of the future. Ennius also encounters an external source of supernatural knowledge (Homer), also on a "magic mountain" (Helicon or Parnassus — the tradition is unclear, and perhaps Ennius was not specific). He too is instructed in certain (Pythagorean) truths; and the instruction culminates with the revelation regarding the entry of Homer's soul into Ennius' body — perhaps, like the ἀνδρὶ θεῶσιν of Hesiod, the reincarnation was described in association with a particular mission: to celebrate the events of the past, etc. The evocation of Hesiod is further signaled by the Callimachean dream motif (see below, note 6) borrowed from the *Aitia* proem, in which the reference to Hesiod is explicit (fr. 2 Pf.). There is, of course, a great deal of seemingly insoluble controversy surrounding the finer details of this very fragmentary passage in Ennius. Whether the poet was "initiated" in a scene with the Muses; whether such a scene included a symbolic drink from their sacred spring; whether such a scene was part of the dream or separate from it; where such a scene may have been set — these and other related questions simply cannot be definitively answered in the present state of our evidence. For a review of the issues and scholarship see A. Kambylis, *Die Dichterweihe und ihre Symbolik* (Heidelberg 1965), pp. 191-201.

⁶The dream motif (see J. Vahlen, *Ennianae Poesis Reliquiae* [3rd ed., Leipzig 1928], ad fr. iv, v, xi, xii of book I) is borrowed from the proem to Callimachus' *Aitia* (see the "somnia testimonia" in R. Pfeiffer, *Callimachus I* [Oxford 1949], p. 11) and thus takes on a programmatic significance comparable to that of its model. One does not know that the alleged differences between the borrowing and the model were as great as assumed by O. Skutsch (*The Annals of Q. Ennius* [London 1951], p. 9 = *Studia Enniana* [London 1968], p. 7) — for example that Ennius actually slept on the mountain rather than visiting it in the dream — but Skutsch is surely right in observing: "To imagine that a man educated in the Greek world of his time could have been unaware of the περίπυστον ὄνειρα, the famous dream of the most famous poet of the century, is to imagine that a modern literary man could write of a scholar's pact with the devil, without being aware of Goethe's *Faust*" (p. 10/8).

which comprises numerous episodes to be presented in the didactic manner, utilizes the baroque style of Alexandria. This mixing of apparent unmixables, embodying, as it does, a selective disregard for the artistic canons of ostensible models, exemplifies the creative freedom which Terence later characterized ironically as *neclegentia*.

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* *

Here I propose to examine another instance of Ennian *neclegentia*, if one may be permitted to call it that. Once again the departure from tradition involves a *contaminatio*: specifically, the poet's broadening of the epic style to include features which in Greek literature were generally excluded from epic, being particularly associated with lyric poetry instead. The term "lyric" is admittedly imprecise, since it can be applied to a number of formal and thematic features which are more or less characteristic of much Greek poetry: choral and monodic lyric in a narrower sense, elegy, iamb, and epigram too. Accordingly, a narrower definition of the term is adopted for this article. "Lyric poetry" here means primarily the epinician ode, especially Pindar's version of it.

Heroic epic and the *epinikion* have at least one theme in common: both are encomiastic; they both celebrate the κλέα ἀνδρῶν. Clearly, however, they differ in their approaches to this subject. Quite apart from the obvious formal differences of scale, meter, music and dialect, the attitude of the lyric poet toward his subject is profoundly unlike that of the epic poet toward his. Epic poetry builds its effects primarily through narrative content. In the case of heroic epic, that content emphasizes action and events and incorporates a plot. The nature of any plot is to minimize a sense of the poet's active involvement in his creation. In exploiting dramatic effects such as irony, suspense, climax and peripety, a plot stands on its own; its internal logic is self-evident; its effects are immediate and do not require — indeed they essentially pre-empt — any interpretative comment on the part of the poet.⁷ In an *epinikion*, however, there is no plot. Narrative content, such as that of a mythic *exemplum*, forms only part of a larger theme which also includes highlighted details of the athletic victory and fragments of the patron's biography. These various elements are not naturally related to one another. What makes them cohere is the context of metaphorical significations into which the poet fits them. The intrusive presence and didactic authority of the poet's (or chorus') *persona* is critical to

⁷Cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* 1460 a 7 on Homer and mimesis: "Ὅμηρος δὲ ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἄξιος ἐπαινεῖσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ ὅτι μόνος τῶν ποιητῶν οὐκ ἀγροεῖ ὃ δεῖ ποιεῖν αὐτόν. αὐτὸν γὰρ δεῖ τὸν ποιητὴν ἐλάχιστα λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐστὶ κατὰ ταῦτα μιμητής."

defining the unity and over-all meaning of that context.⁸ In being markedly subjective and interpreted, as opposed to objective and obvious, the meaning of lyric poetry is expressly the poet's, and thereby serves to elevate the poetic *persona* to the role of mediating between his subject and his audience. This quality makes the lyric style self-referential to a degree which even other didactic poetry, including didactic epic, never approximates. The lyric poet will not let his audience overlook or forget that the κλέα ἀνδρῶν are preserved through his agency,⁹ that their metaphorical significance is revealed through his σοφία,¹⁰ and thus that the subject and the poem and the poet are inseparable.

Res atque poemata nostra — the subject, the poem and the poet — is the way in which Ennius introduces his epic.¹¹ The phrase suggests an interdependence and equality of importance among these three elements, which will mutually share the fame of which Ennius boasts. Such a conceit is not traditional in epic poetry. In Homeric epic, as was noted above, the poet *in propria persona* remains offstage. While it is true that in Hesiod and philosophical epic the poetic *persona* is elevated to a prominent role of didactic authority, and that this development accompanies a new emphasis on the truth and importance of the subject,¹² the consequent narrowing of the goal of poetry to a more self-consciously didactic purpose entails a decline in the ethical status of poetry itself. Serious didactic poetry views the poem as a means to an end, not as an end in its own right. This attitude eventually leads to the replacement of poetry by prose as the serious didactic medium. Conversely, in the ostensibly didactic poetry of the Hellenistic age, as also in the small-scale alternative epic of Alexandria, the selection of academic, bizarre, or humble themes is a deliberate means of making the subject secondary in importance to the technical virtuosity of the poet. As suggested earlier, however, the conceit is a familiar one in Pindar. The poet begins his fourth *Isthmian*, for example, by jubilantly

⁸Thus Pindar repeatedly refers to himself in the course of a typical *epinikion* (e.g., *Ol.* 1. 4, 7, 16, 18, 36, 52, 100-105, 108-112, 115-116). He also repeatedly asserts his claim to *sophia* — both explicitly through statements to that effect (e.g., *ibid.* 9, 116) and implicitly through the numerous ethical and aesthetic judgments which the poet presumes to make (e.g., *ibid.* 1-15, 30-36, 53, 97-100, 110-116).

⁹E.g., Pindar, *P.* 3. 114; cf. *Ol.* 10. 91-96 and numerous other examples.

¹⁰E.g., *Ol.* 2. 83-86.

¹¹*Latos* <per> *populos res atque poemata nostra* / <clara> *cluebunt*: 3-4 V. as restored by O. Skutsch ("Enniana I," *Classical Quarterly* 38 [1944], pp. 82-84 = *Studia Enniana*, pp. 22-24).

¹²S. Koster, *Antike Epistheorien* (Wiesbaden 1970), pp. 7-10.

declaring his personal opportunity (ἔστι μοι...κέλευθος) to celebrate the ἀρεταί which his subject offers (εὐμαχανίαν γὰρ ἔφανατος) by means of a ὕμνος which will, the poet prays, itself be a στεφάνωμ' ἐπάξιον for the victory.¹³ Very much the same effect seems to be created through the juxtaposition encompassed by "res atque poemata nostra... cluebunt."

But this is not the only, nor even the best, evidence for the lyric involvement of poet and theme in Ennius' epic style. Perhaps the clearest indication of this involvement is provided by a notice from the elder Pliny.¹⁴ Pliny states that Ennius added a sixteenth book to his *Annales* because he especially admired a certain pair of brothers whom, presumably, the book in question was intended to honor. There seems no reason to doubt that Pliny's notice is based on what Ennius himself wrote, probably in the prologue to book XVI, to which Vahlen assigned the fragment. That being so, this notice reveals the remarkable extent to which Ennius has personalized his massive poem. Normally an epic poet will justify himself, if he presumes to do so at all, in terms of the special nature of his theme, as in the *Works and Days*, where the truth and utility of the subject are emphasized;¹⁵ or he will justify himself through his special fitness for the role, an example being Hesiod's initiation in the *Theogony*. Where else in epic poetry prior to Ennius does the poet explain himself by saying, in effect, "because I wanted to"? A more conventional medium for the expression of the poet's personal attitude toward his subject is lyric poetry (to which elegy and iamb can be added), as in the seventh *Pythian*, where Pindar declares that he is moved by his subject (ἄγοντι δέ με) and that he takes pleasure in it (χαίρω τι).¹⁶

In the light of this notice from Pliny, one can imagine that a similarly lyric attitude may have also appeared in other passages where, however, the evidence is less conclusive. For example, Aurelius Victor refers to the Ambracian victory of M. Fulvius Nobilior as follows: "quam victoriam per se magnificam Q. Ennius amicus eius insigni

¹³Is. 4. 1, 2, 44 respectively.

¹⁴N.H. VII. 101: "Q. Ennius T. Caelium Teucrum fratremque eius praecipue miratus propter eos sextum decimum adiecit annalem." E. Badian's arguments for restoring *Caelium* (codd. *Caccilium*) to this passage, and for connecting these brothers with the two tribunes of Livy XLI. 1. 7; 4. 3 are convincing: "Ennius and his Friends," *Fondation Hardt Entretiens XVII* (Geneva 1971), pp. 196-99.

¹⁵E.g., *Op.* 10, 286.

¹⁶*Py.* 7. 13-18.

laude celebravit."¹⁷ The *insigni laude* seems gratuitous (would not *celebravit* do the job by itself?) unless one imagines the poet interrupting his narrative with a personal encomium.¹⁸ What form might such an encomium have taken? Perhaps 370-72 V. (of Fabius Maximus) preserves a partial example of a similar one:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
Non enim rumores ponebat ante salutem.
Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

In particular the *nobis* and *nunc* of this passage suggest a personal perspective (as opposed to a general and timeless one) which the poet invites his audience to share. Such an "invitation" is a reflection of the paraenetic interest which normally complements lyric encomium. Great deeds are great examples, and the lyric poet takes it upon himself to draw the proper inferences for his audience. Such paraenesis in Ennius can even take the form of explicit advice, as in 465-66 V.:

Audire est operae pretium procedere recte
qui rem Romanam Latiumque augescere vultis.¹⁹

to which one may compare the Pindaric: ἴστω γὰρ σαφὲς ὅστις...πρὸ φίλας πάτρας ἀμύνεται κ.τ.λ. (Is. 7. 27). Thus the picture which emerges from these fragments is more that of the lyric *κάρυξ σοφῶν ἐπέων*²⁰ than of the epic *αἰοιδός*.

In what was probably a "sphragis" to book XV, the original conclusion to the *Annales*, Ennius described himself by means of the following simile (374-75 V.):

Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo

¹⁷ *De vir. illus.* 52. 3. Vahlen assigned this notice to the opening of book XV.

¹⁸ K. Ziegler's argument (*Das hellenistische Epos* [2nd ed., Leipzig 1966], pp. 15-16) that this overtly encomiastic quality was also a feature of Hellenistic "Heldenepos" may be true. It does not follow, however, that the *Annales* was just another "court" epic. The question of other Hellenistic forms which may have influenced Ennius is taken up later in this article.

¹⁹ The fragment is known from the *scholion* to a parody of it in Horace (*Sat.* I. 2. 37-38): "Audire est operae pretium, procedere recte / qui moechis non vultis." Vahlen put quotation marks around the fragment, evidently on the assumption that it came from a speech. But if these were the alleged words of some notable figure out of Roman history, say a Fabius or a Cato, then Horace's parody would have been that much more delicious, and Porphyry's note would most likely have identified the speaker so as to point out the additional irreverence. Instead merely "Ennius" is mentioned as the source — "sed illud urbanus, quod cum Ennius 'vultis' dixerit, hic 'non vultis' intulerit" — which suggests that these words were not part of a character's speech, but rather were addressed by the poet to his audience, even as the Horatian parody takes the form of such an address.

²⁰ Pindar, fr. 70b. 24 Snell.

vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.²¹

If the reference of this fragment is to Ennius' reasons for concluding the poem at this point, as seems the most likely interpretation, then it projects the same lyric *persona* as the notice from Pliny. It elevates the poet to the level of his subject, enabling the poem to end not because the story does, but rather because the poet *in propria persona* decides that it will. Again parallels are readily available in Pindar,²² but cannot be found in epic poetry.

There is certainly nothing novel in the observation that the *Annales* were unprecedented, so far as one has evidence by which to judge, in the degree to which they, as epic poetry, incorporated authorial intrusions. Less certain are the reasons behind this aspect of Ennian epic. Given that Ennius was writing epic poetry in the Greek manner, why did he depart from Greek tradition so markedly in this respect? Previous Ennian scholarship has offered at least three different answers to this question. K. Ziegler in effect answered it by denying the premise that Ennian epic represents a departure from tradition.²³ He argued instead that the *Annales* closely reflect the style of contemporary Greek historical epic. Unfortunately nothing of this genre has survived, making it impossible either to prove or to disprove Ziegler's thesis. The argument is reminiscent of the once popular search for "Posidonius" behind much of Cicero's *philosophica*. It is an *ignotum per ignotius*, and consequently no answer at all. W. Suerbaum suggests that self-references in Ennius are owed to the influence of prose historiography, particularly Hellenistic historiography, in which the book-length compositional unit offered numerous opportunities for

²¹Cic. *De Sen.* 14. W. Suerbaum (*Untersuchungen zur Selbstdarstellung älterer römischer Dichter* [Hildesheim 1968], pp. 124-25) calls attention to the stylistically unprecedented nature of such self-description in epic poetry: "Dass sich der Dichter selbst mit einem Gleichnis auszeichnet, dafür gab es in der bisherigen epischen Dichtung keine Parallele. Die besprochenen Stellen entstammen alle nichtepischer Literatur." Self-description by means of simile is not common even in lyric poetry, though examples can be found in Pindar; e.g., *Py.* 2. 80-81 (the poet is untouched by slander, like a cork riding above the net). Perhaps the closest Pindaric parallel (though not a simile) is *N.* 8. 19, where the poet likens himself to a runner at the start of a race.

²²E.g. *N.* 3. 76-82, where the poet abruptly brings his treatment of the theme to an end and closes the poem with a description of himself as an eagle in contrast to the raucous jackdaws who represent his unworthy rivals.

²³*Das hellenistische Epos* (above, note 18), pp. 55-77. The extremely speculative nature of Ziegler's thesis is sensibly criticized by B. Otis (*Vergil* [Oxford 1964], pp. 396-98) — my thanks to G. W. Williams for calling my attention to Otis' discussion.

"personal" prologues — Polybius provides the best example.²⁴ On the basis of this supposition, Suerbaum argues that Ennius' personal references were confined to the prologues and epilogues of individual books. Yet the following evidence suggests that Ennius could also refer to himself from within the narrative content of the poem itself.

Aelius Stilo told that Ennius, in the famous "trusted adviser" passage,²⁵ sketched a portrait of himself under the guise of a friend to a certain Servilius Geminus.²⁶ Assuming that Ennius intended the identification to be made, how was this intention realized, if authorial intrusions were excluded from the narrative as Suerbaum supposes? There is nothing in traditional epic poetry, nor even in historiography, which could provide a model for such a *laudatio sui*. But in a Pindaric style Ennius might have written something like: "May I ever be like that friend who...."²⁷ The encomium of Fabius Cunctator discussed earlier (370-72 V.) provides another example of authorial intrusion into the narrative. And perhaps still other fragments should be read in a similar way: 377 V., for example, "Nos sumus Romani, qui fuimus ante Rudini," would make sense both as an autobiographical statement and as an allegorical expression of Roman "manifest destiny."

To return to the question which was posed above, it has been seen that neither Ziegler's argument, nor Suerbaum's, seems to provide a satisfactory explanation of the nature and extent of authorial intrusion in Ennian epic. The thesis of the present article, of course, is that such intrusions were one aspect of a broader "lyric" *contaminatio* which Ennius has modeled after the style of Pindaric epinicia. To a limited extent this thesis has been obliquely anticipated by G. Williams, who writes: "The inspiration for Ennius' personal entrances into his own narrative, so alien to the epic tradition, came from Callimachus. Relevant here is not only the prologue to the *Aitia*, but also such a composition as the first Hymn to Zeus."²⁸ Perhaps of even greater relevance than Williams' examples are the Callimachean epinicia specifically: those of the *Iambi* (8) and elegiacs (fr. 383, 384, and now

²⁴*Selbstdarstellung* (above, note 21), pp. 44-46.

²⁵234-51 V. (= Gellius XII. 4. 4).

²⁶O. Skutsch (*Classical Quarterly* 57 [1963], pp. 94-96 = *Studia Enniana*, pp. 92-94) has shown that this passage brims with Hellenistic *topoi*; nevertheless, he feels that Stilo's identification was likely to have been correct.

²⁷E.g., N. 8. 35.

²⁸*Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), p. 697.

the "Victoria Berenices" from book III of the *Aitia*).²⁹ These "lyric" conflations in Callimachus have been studied by J. K. Newman who enumerates several "points of contact" between Callimachus and Pindar specifically.³⁰ He refers with approval to the view of Puelma Piwonka³¹ which, he says, "suggests that a vital clue to Callimachus is his preoccupation with the transposition of lyric into other genres traditionally regarded as non-lyric." Thus this chain of argument indirectly arrives at a conclusion similar to the one which the present article advances — that a vital clue to Ennius is his transposition of lyric into epic. Yet there is no need to see the Pindaric element in Callimachus, rather than the work of Pindar himself, as the source from which Ennius drew the lyric *contaminatio* of his epic style. Since Ennius surely possessed the creativity to use Pindar independently, it seems more probable that he was inspired both directly by the potentialities of the lyric style, and by the example of Callimachus in putting some of them to use in other genres. Regardless of whether the Pindaric influence is direct or through Callimachus, the extension of such a style to epic poetry appears to have been without precedent.

A final observation about the racehorse simile of book XV is in order. At various other points in the poem Ennius took care to define his place in the tradition of ancient poetry. It has been noted that he saw himself as a reborn Homer, and that the revelation of this rebirth occurred in a setting which evoked both Hesiod and Callimachus. In the proem to book VII Ennius defined himself with respect to his Roman predecessors too — especially Naevius, whose style he characterized as primitive.³² Given these indications of Ennius' punctilious sense of his place in the tradition of poetry, the racehorse simile assumes a larger significance. Victory in the horse race was specifically associated with lyric poetry.³³ Why raise such associations, if not to evoke and to acknowledge the lyric (Pindaric) element which he has incorporated into his multifaceted style?

Even at the purely formal level the influence of the lyric style in Ennian epic is detectable. Of Pindar's imagery Bowra writes the following:

²⁹My thanks to J. E. G. Zetzel for drawing my attention to this aspect of Callimachus' work.

³⁰*Augustus and the New Poetry* (Bruxelles 1967), pp. 45-48.

³¹*Lucilius und Kallimachos* (Frankfurt am Main 1949).

³²213-14 V.: "scripsere alii rem / versibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant." The context and reference of the fragment are known from its source: Cic. *Brut.* 76.

³³Horace, *A.P.* 83-84: "Musa dedit fidibus.../...et equum certamine primum."

The extensive use of imagery is a heritage not from epic but from lyric and elegiac song.... Pindar's imagery evokes a mental picture which by its unexpected application gives a new character to a theme. In its simplest forms it means that one sensible object is brought into close relation with another, and from the alliance of the two emerges a complex notion which works by pictorial means, but does not appeal directly to the eye.³⁴

This observation could be applied equally well to Ennius' use of metaphor.³⁵ A good example is provided by the phrase "*aedificant nomen*" in the following passage:

Reges per regnum statuasque sepulcraque quaerunt,
aedificant nomen: summa nituntur opum vi.³⁶

The image of kings building their *nomen* into an *aedes* simultaneously evokes the palace, the temple, the mausoleum, and the too ephemeral nature of them all. It works more by suggestion than by description and, in doing so, embodies the idiosyncratic polysemies of the lyric style, rather than unfolding its meaning in the more linear manner of epic narrative. When Ennius speaks of troops advancing "in an iron cloudburst" (*fit ferreus imber*: 284 V.), or of the Roman army "drying themselves off from sleep" (*sese exsiccat somno*: 469 V.), or of a ravaging enemy "shaving down the rich fields" (*deque totondit agros laetos*: 495 V.³⁷), he is transforming the nature of epic description. These vivid, jarring metaphors have their place in the more restless, agitated style of lyric.³⁸

In a seminal essay entitled "Die Kreuzung der Gattungen,"³⁹ W. Kroll demonstrated that the traditional genres of poetry tended to lose their specific functions and associations during the Hellenistic period. As all the genres became more artificial, they all became more alike. This tendency was especially pronounced in the humbler forms of mime, epigram and even elegy, which had always been less subject to the formalist constraints of an antecedent tradition. But the loftiest genre, heroic epic, appears to have been so bound by tradition as to be

³⁴ Pindar (Oxford 1964), pp. 240-41.

³⁵ "Besonders kenntlich ist es, wie Ennius bemüht ist, ein bezeichnendes Wort für die Sache zu finden, der er einen starken poetischen Ausdruck geben will, oder wie er mit Kühnheit der glücklichen Eingebung folgt" — F. Leo, *Geschichte der röm. Literatur I* (Berlin 1913), p. 175.

³⁶ 411-12 V.

³⁷ *deque totondit* Merula; *detotondit* cdd.

³⁸ Leo (*loc. cit.*, above, note 35) collects the following additional examples: 225, 253, 278, 308, 316, 335, 348.

³⁹ *Studien zum Verständnis der röm. Literatur* (Stuttgart 1924), pp. 202-24.

virtually beyond legitimate experimentation.⁴⁰ Indeed it was perhaps partly the ossification of epic, its lack of opportunity for creative experimentation, which lay behind Callimachus' famous condemnation of the form. It is true that Apollonius' *Argonautica* differs in scale, emphasis, and dramatic interest from Homeric epic, but the general style is very consciously that of Homer.⁴¹ Of Hellenistic historical epic, even granting that it was the ostensible genre of the *Annales*, not enough is known to permit one to judge whether Ennius' "lyric" *contaminatio* is original with him. But the obvious conclusion seems the best one: namely, that Ennius transformed epic style as part of a reborn tradition of epic poetry, one based on a new language, a new Homer, and *neclegentia*.⁴²

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⁴⁰L. E. Rossi ("I generi letterari e le loro leggi scritte e non scritte nelle letterature classiche," *Institute of Classical Studies Bulletin*, Supplement 18 [1971], p. 84) suggests: "ma forse il delitto più grave è la trasformazione del genere più sacro, l'epica, che, rinnegata una sua fondamentale legge strutturale, la grande dimensione, diventa l'epillio." Yet the fact that traditional epic continues to be written suggests that the epyllion was felt to be more of an alternative form, something entirely new, rather than an attempt to transform a traditional one.

⁴¹The only concession to Hellenistic "Ruhmstreben" is a modest *sphragis*: IV. 1773-76.

⁴²"Così i poeti romani non si sentirono astretti alle limitazioni infinite che i greci trovavano nella loro tradizione poetica...né furono, per dir così, obbligati a innovarla con sottili e intellettualistici esercizi tecnici" — S. Mariotti, "Letteratura latina arcaica e Alessandrino," *Belfagor* 20 (1965), p. 45. I am indebted to John F. Miller for much helpful criticism and advice in the development of this study.

Comic Elements in Catullus 51¹

J. K. NEWMAN

The problem has been how to fit the *otium* stanza at the end on to the rest of the poem. E. Fraenkel has pointed to the hellenistic sequence of thought inside this stanza: *otium* can be ruinous because it induces *luxuria*, τρυφή. *Beatas* is important: the cities brought low by *otium* could, for a time at least, afford vice. Theophrastus had already defined love as πάθος ψυχῆς σχολαζούσης, which may be latinized as *passio animi otiosi*.²

This theme may also be traced in New Comedy, the genre for which Theophrastus' *Characters* so evidently prepare the way. The opening monologue of Diniarchus in the *Truculentus* is relevant here. Like Lucretius later (*De Rer. Nat.* IV. 1123 ff.), Diniarchus bitterly comments on love's expensiveness. And, like Catullus, he associates the high cost of loving with *otium*. He has been speaking of the swelling bank accounts of the *lenones*:

postremo id magno in populo multis hominibus
re placida atque **otiosa**, victis hostibus:
amare oportet omnis qui quod dent habent. (74-76)

"Finally, in a time of baby boom, with peace and leisure thanks to the defeat of our external foes, there is this: the duty of every man with something to give is — to be a lover."

Otium is a leitmotif of the scene: cf. *otiosum*, 136; *otium*, 138; *otiosus*, 142 and 152.

¹This is the expanded text of a talk given at the American Philological Association's Annual Meeting in San Francisco, December 1981.

²E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957), pp. 212-13. In his turn, Fraenkel is dependent on W. Kroll's still indispensable commentary on Catullus (2nd edition, Leipzig and Berlin 1929). Kroll refers on *otium* both to Theophrastus and to Plautus, *Truc.* 142, *Most.* 137.

No doubt Catullus' last stanza (and Catullus' other poetry) shares something with Plautine New Comedy (cf. *Pseudolus* 64 ff.), but how does that help the unity of poem 51? How do these discrepant lines about *otium* harmonize with the tone of the rest of the poem, in which editors usually hear a univocal declaration of unrestrained infatuation? Because poem 51 itself advertises, by an ostentatious departure from Sappho in its second line, a Plautine, comic connection. This line is the famous *ille, si fas est, superare divos* which, like the last stanza, has also been in trouble with those who expect a translation to be a translation (as if such an expectation made any sense when we are dealing with the Romans!).³ Editors confine themselves here to comment about the "pious restraint" of *si fas est*,⁴ while completely failing to notice the characteristic use of *superare*. Yet a simple glance at the first chapter of Fraenkel's *Elementi plautini in Plauto* establishes the importance of this key word in Plautus' comic imagination. So, for example, *Aulularia* 701-02:

Picis divitiis, qui aureos montis colunt,
ego solus⁵ **supero**...

Persa 1-2:

Qui amans egens ingressus est princeps in Amoris vias
superavit aerumnis suis aerumnas Herculei.

Cistellaria 203-05:

Credo ego Amorem primum apud homines carnificinam commentum.
Hanc ego de me coniecturam domi facio, ni foris quaeram,
qui omnis homines **supero**, antideo cruciabilitatibus animi.

Pseudolus 1244:

superavit dolum Troianum atque Ulixem Pseudolus.

³Kroll, for example, says (p. 92) that this line is "ein ziemlich müssiger Zusatz C's in seiner Manier...." See also Fraenkel's "infelice aggiunta," quoted below.

⁴"Catullus would avoid saying anything impious (Westphal)" — Robinson Ellis, *ad loc.* In fact, *si fas est* is a signal that the poet is intent on abandoning the normal bounds of convention, rather as the English idiom "If I may say so" betokens hyperbole of some kind. In Naevius' epitaph (Morel, *Frag. Poet. lat.*, p. 28, no. 64) the *itaque* would make no sense if the *si foret fas flere* of the opening were not taken as conceded. See also the epigram on Scipio by Ennius (Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* I, p. 400, 3-4), mentioned below, where *si fas est* introduces an outrageous piece of hellenistic flattery.

⁵On *solus* here, with which may be compared the Ennian / Virgilian *unus* applied to Fabius Maximus, cf. E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Berlin 1913), p. 245 and note 1. Ennius uses it of the elder Scipio in his epigram (above, note 4), and it is still echoing in the Byzantine Acclamations: e.g. *μόρε ἄγαθῇ* to Justinian: P. Maas, *Byz. Zeit.* xxi (1912), p. 31. Compare *quoniam tu solus sanctus* in the Gloria of the Mass; *Rev.* 15. 4.

If we follow Fraenkel, from whom these examples are taken, in extending our search to synonyms of *superare* such as *antideo* (*Cist.* 205 *supra*), *antecedo*, *antevenio*, *numquam / haud aequae*, the phenomenon becomes even more striking. In all cases, there is a typical desire to outdo some divine, mythical or collectively human precedent.

Fraenkel naturally notes the application of this to Catullus,⁶ but he is not right when he calls it the "infelice aggiunta catulliana alle parole di Saffo," (and even if it were *infelice* that would still not excuse editors' silence). The attitude revealed by Plautus' *superare* is not unique to Plautus. The belief that the modern, Roman world is not the degenerate descendant of a glorious past (Homer's οἰοί νῦν βροτοί εἶσι, Hesiod's Age of Iron), but can both recall and outdo it, is deeply ingrained in the Roman temperament. The topic may be followed from Ennius, Plautus' contemporary, through Propertius, Lucan, Statius, Martial, Claudian, Byzantine epigram, to Dante.⁷ Claudian, for example, is the inheritor of a long tradition when he writes (*In Rufinum* I. 283-84): *taceat superata vetustas*.... "The days of old are surpassed; let them keep silence and cease to compare Hercules' labours with thine."⁸ This *taceat*, of which Martial is fond (*Lib. Spect.* 6. 3; 28. 11) finds an echo in Dante: *taccia Lucano...taccia...Ovidio* (*Inferno* 25. 94 and 97). The *cedat* topos (cf. Prop. II. 2. 13 *cedite iam, divae*; 34B. 65 *cedite, Romani scriptores* etc.: Lucan VII. 408 *cedant feralia nomina Cannae*: Martial, *Lib. Spect.* 1. 7 *cedit: A.P.* IX. 656. 11 εἰξον) is obviously a variant. The Propertian examples in particular seem to link both Catullus (*divae / divos*) and Dante (*Romani scriptores / Lucano...Ovidio*).

The classical Greeks did not think this way,⁹ and in poem 64 Catullus does not think this way either, though what he says at the end there is to be tempered by the realization that the poem is part of that central cycle of long poems which lends such *gravitas* to his *nugae*.¹⁰ Is this inconsistency simply poetic privilege, or is the poet telling us something? It is not after all Catullus in poem 51 who seems to outdo the gods, but *ille. Ego sum ille rex Philippus* says Lyconides' slave in the *Aulularia* (704). And, in a strongly Ennian passage, Virgil writes: *tun*

⁶*Elementi plautini*, p. 14, note 1.

⁷Cf. Otto Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (Stuttgart 1928), pp. 30 ff.; E. R. Curtius, *Römische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948), pp. 168-72.

⁸Loeb translation by Maurice Platnauer, I, p. 47. Cf. Plautus, *Persa* 2, quoted above.

⁹E. Fraenkel on *Agamemnon* 532. Pindar's remark at *P.* 6. 44: τὰ μὲν παρίκει τῶν νῦν δέ is especially noteworthy.

¹⁰G. Jachmann, "Sappho und Catull," *Rheinisches Museum* 107 (1964), p. 18, note 44, refers us indeed to Cat. 68. 141.

Maximus ille es, / Unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem? (*Aen.* VI. 845-46). The telling *unus* should be noted: cf. Plautus, *Mil. Glor.* 56). Indeed, we already know Catullus' *si fas est* from an epigram of Ennius on the elder Scipio, where Scipio is made to claim, though hardly with "pious restraint," entry to heaven itself.¹¹

Catullus' contrast then between *ille* and himself, the *misero* of line 5, with an adjective often used of the comic / elegiac lover,¹² acquires extra dimensions, unknown to Sappho. Catullus is unsuccessful: *ille* is the supremely successful hellenistic hero / prince. In this unequal contest, Catullus' identification of himself with Sappho borders, but of course only borders, on the burlesque, and anticipates Ariosto's Sacripante.¹³ Sappho says quite simply that she has "no sight in her eyes." Catullus' *geminā teguntur / lumina nocte*, which has puzzled scholars by its audacity, makes the poet almost die like a Homeric or Virgilian warrior.¹⁴ The symptom which is incidental in Sappho, and in Lucretius' imitation, is placed by Catullus emphatically at the end, precisely where it corresponds to Sappho's allusion to death. Lurking behind all this is the familiar antithesis of the rich lover, often a military man, and the "poor poet."

I would like to suggest therefore that a proper understanding of Catullus 51. 2 sets the line in the comic, mock-heroic tradition congenial to the Roman temperament.¹⁵ that such a perspective enables us to unite the *otium* stanza, also treating a comic theme, more easily with the rest of the poem:¹⁶ and that accordingly in Catullus' translation of Sappho an element of ironic, Alexandrian self-mockery, found elsewhere in the poet, makes it dangerous to interpret the poem as an early and unambiguous declaration of love.

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¹¹Above, notes 4 and 5.

¹²R. Pichon, *De Sermone Amatorio apud latinos Elegiarum Scriptores* (Paris 1902), pp. 202-03: *Thes. Ling. Lat.* vol. 8, col. 1103, 18 ff.

¹³*Orlando Furioso* I. 43. The king quotes, without perhaps quite realizing what he is doing, from the girls' chorus at Catullus 62. 39 ff.

¹⁴A. Turyn, *Studia Sapphica, Eus Supplementa* 6 (Lvov 1929), pp. 48-50: cf. H. Akbar Khan, "Color Romanus in Catullus 51," *Latomus* 25 (1966), p. 459.

¹⁵*Italum acetum*, *Hor. Sat.* I. 7. 32. Perhaps this national propensity explains Quintilian's complacent *satura tota nostra est*.

¹⁶The final vision of devastation (*et reges prius et beatas / perdidit urbes*) now corresponds to the latent antithesis described at the end of the previous paragraph. Catullus knows why he inevitably loses against his rival.

The Warp and Woof of the Universe in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*

JANE McINTOSH SNYDER

"I see the World, a vital web, self-woven... / with Space for warp and Time for woof." So was the world envisioned by George Cram Cook,¹ novelist, poet, and founder of the Provincetown Players, who met his untimely death in Greece in 1924 and lies buried in the foreign quarter of the little cemetery overlooking the ruins of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Cook, himself an ardent admirer of the Classics, presents here an image which appears frequently in ancient literature — the image of the weaving of fabric on a loom as a metaphor for creation and creativity.² Lucretius in particular, in his great epic poem *De Rerum Natura*, seems to have been struck by the usefulness of the warp-weighted loom — a familiar part of every Roman's daily life — as a reference point for visualizing the universe as the fabric of Nature's design, woven together from the warp and woof of the atoms.

Much has been written on various important images which recur in Lucretius' poem — light and darkness, the honey on the rim of the cup, love and death, and so on; but aside from the sensitive notes in Smith's commentary, little attention has been paid to the persistent images in *De Rerum Natura* which are drawn from the art of weaving.³

¹Roderick Taliaferro: *A Story of Maximilian's Empire* (New York 1903), p. 469. For recent studies of Cook's work and influence, see Susan C. Kemper, "The Novels, Plays, and Poetry of George Cram Cook, Founder of the Provincetown Players" (Diss., Bowling Green State University, 1982) and Robert Sarlós, *Jig Cook and the Provincetown Players: Theatre in Ferment* (Amherst 1982).

²See J. M. Snyder, "The Web of Song: Weaving Imagery in Homer and the Lyric Poets," *Classical Journal* 76 (1981), pp. 193-96.

³W. E. Leonard and S. B. Smith, ed., *T. Lucreti Cari De Rerum Natura* (Madison 1965). As G. Townend notes: "... Lucretius draws on the whole range of his experience

Through the repeated use of words like *exordia* (literally "warp," hence the derived meaning "beginning"), *textura*, and *texere*, to list but a few, Lucretius keeps the image of Nature's cosmic loom before our eyes throughout the six books of his epic. A brief analysis of the occurrences of weaving imagery in the work will show that the loom helped to shape not only Lucretius' conception of the world, but also his view of his role in weaving together the words to describe that world for his reader.

The use of the upright, warp-weighted loom for both domestic and industrial production of cloth in Greek and Roman society is well known and needs no elaboration here.⁴ These looms consisted of a tall vertical frame, from which the warp threads were suspended and held taut by weights attached at the bottom. The weaving began at the top as the shuttle was passed back and forth through the warp to create the weft (or woof); each strand of weft was then beaten up tightly against the strands above it with a comb in order to create a firm weave. Such looms must have been a common sight in Italian households in Lucretius' day, and indeed, for generations before his time. Lucretius himself displays an intimate awareness of the mechanics of the loom when he names several of its working parts in his description of the origins of weaving:

Nexilis ante fuit vestis quam textile tegmen.
textile post ferrumst, quia ferro tela paratur,
nec ratione alia possunt tam levia gigni
insilia ac fusi radii scapique sonantes. (V. 1350-53)

Braided clothes existed before woven garments. Woven clothing came after iron, for iron was necessary for the making of the loom; otherwise the heddle rods [?] couldn't be so smooth, nor the spindles and shuttles and rattling bobbins [?].⁵

to provide terms for the behaviour of natural objects, and particularly of the atoms. These utterly impersonal and purposeless little bodies...are continually described in language derived from men and their activities" ("Imagery in Lucretius," ed. D. R. Dudley, *Lucretius: Studies in Latin Literature and Its Influence* [London 1965], p. 96). See also below, note 14.

⁴See, for example, Grace M. Crowfoot, "Of the Warp-Weighted Loom," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 37 (1936), pp. 36-47; Walter O. Moeller, "The Male Weavers at Pompeii," *Technology and Culture* 10 (1969), pp. 561-66; Wesley Thompson, "Weaving: A Man's Work," *Classical World* 75 (1982), pp. 217-22. A comprehensive history of the warp-weighted loom in Nordic and European countries, with a brief chapter on classical antiquity, may be found in Marta Hoffmann, "The Warp-Weighted Loom," *Studia Norvegica* 14 (1964), pp. 1-425. A helpful side-view diagram is available in John Peter Wild, "The Warp-Weighted Loom," *Antiquity* 52 (1978), p. 59.

In many ways this passage raises more questions than it answers, for we cannot be sure whether the poet means that iron tools were used to plane the parts of the loom mentioned or whether some of the parts themselves were made of iron; nor can we be certain exactly which parts of the loom are named. Lucretius simply assumes that his reader requires no explanation of a piece of familiar household equipment. Indeed, most allusions to weaving in ancient literature make the same assumption, with the result that our knowledge of the mechanics of the craft must be based more on analogy with weaving in other cultures than on direct reports in Greek and Roman authors. The assumption of readers' familiarity with the operations of weaving led to frequent allusions, to which we should be alert; as Crowfoot observes, "weaving and spinning were such common features of daily life that poets and playwrights expected their hearers to pick up any witty or fanciful allusion — a pun, the merest hint — to any tool or operation connected with them."⁶

The prominence of weaving as a source of imagery for Lucretius may be seen at the outset of his presentation of the atomic theory in Book I. Immediately after the introduction, the poet announces:

principium cuius hinc nobis **exordia** sumet,
nullam rem e nilo gigni divinitus umquam. (I. 149-150)

Although *exordium* had by the first century B.C. already acquired its rhetorical sense of "beginning of a speech," its literal meaning had not been supplanted; in fact, Quintilian still uses the word in its literal as well as its rhetorical sense.⁷ Here, Lucretius' use of the plural, *exordia*, suggests that he is thinking primarily of the root meaning of the term: *exordium* is from *exordior*, "to lay the warp of," "to begin a web," and in the plural would thus seem best to be translated as "warp threads." Lucretius is not so much proclaiming that he is about to make a speech on atomic theory as that he is setting up the essential foundation on

⁵The translation of some of the terms is debatable: *insilia* is of uncertain derivation, but if it is connected with *insilio*, "to jump," it might refer to the heddle rod which had to be pulled out toward the weaver every other time the shuttle was passed through the warp strands; *scapus* is taken by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* to refer to the heddle rod, but L. A. MacKay, "Notes on Lucretius," *American Journal of Philology* 77 (1956), p. 67, argues persuasively that it is the term for bobbin.

⁶Crowfoot (above, note 4), p. 38.

⁷*Oxford Latin Dictionary*, s.v. *exordior* and *ordior* (cf. also *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*). For Quintilian's literal use of the term, see *Inst.* V. 10. 71. He explains (IV. 1. 1) that the beginning of a speech is called *exordium* in Latin and *prooemium* in Greek, and that he prefers the Greek term since it points more directly to the introductory nature of this portion of a speech. Lucretius' contemporary, the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (I. 3. 4), however, uses the term *exordium*.

which the atomic theory rests.

In the next section of Book I, Lucretius repeatedly uses weaving metaphors to elucidate the companion theory that nothing can be reduced to nothing. In his contrary-to-fact arguments in support of the hypothesis *nil ad nihilum*, he seems to be suggesting that the atoms themselves form the warp and woof out of which substances are woven:

denique res omnis eadem vis causaque vulgo
conficeret, nisi materies aeterna teneret
inter se **nexus** minus aut magis **indupedita**.
tactus enim leti satis esset causa profecto,
quippe ubi nulla forent aeterno corpore quorum
contextum vis deberet dissolvere quaeque.
at nunc, inter se quia **nexus** principiorum
dissimiles constant aeternaque materies est,
incolumi remanent res corpore, dum satis acris
vis obeat pro **textura** cuiusque reperta. (I. 238-247)

Lucretius once again calls to mind the image of the woven fabric later in Book I when, after establishing the existence of the void, he asserts that matter itself is absolutely solid, and that the atoms themselves can in no way be "unwoven" by external forces (*retexi*, I. 529). Although he has suggested earlier that *substances* can be "unwoven" once a sufficiently strong force penetrates their entwined atoms, he takes pains here to reiterate that the *corpora prima* themselves are not susceptible to any such unraveling process.

Given the pattern of weaving imagery established in Book I, it is not surprising that the next occurrence of the word *exordia* in the poem refers not to Lucretius' attempts to lay down the foundation of the Epicurean system but to the atoms themselves, the threads of existence:

Nunc age iam deinceps cunctarum **exordia** rerum
qualia sint et quam longe distantia formis
percipe, multigenis quam sint variata figuris. (II. 333-35)

Indeed, all the remaining instances of *exordia* in the poem refer either to the atoms themselves or to some kind of cosmic "beginnings" closely linked to the atoms.⁸

Although the poet uses a variety of names for the atoms, one of his favorite terms is *primordia*. Lucretius' awareness of the component elements of the term is proven by his reference to the atoms in the same passage both as *ordia prima* (IV. 28) and as *primordia* (IV. 41) —

⁸Atoms: III. 31, 380; IV. 45, 114; V. 677. "Beginnings" of earth, sea, etc.: II. 1062; V. 331, 430, 471.

literally "first warp-threads." It is likely, then, that the extended metaphor of weaving is introduced into the poem not with *exordia* in I. 149, but with *primordia* in I. 55, when Lucretius first sets forth the concept of atoms, calling them *primordia*, then adding the synonymous terms *genitalia corpora*, *semina rerum*, and *corpora prima*.

In addition to providing Lucretius with a vocabulary for describing the atoms as *primordia* and *exordia*, the art of weaving seems also to have furnished the poet a convenient model for his conception of the "vertical universe." His discussions of atomic movements in Book II make clear that he thinks of the atoms as falling continually downward through empty space, except when they occasionally deviate from their paths through the mysterious forces of the atomic swerve (II. 216-93). The language Lucretius chooses in the section preceding the description of the swerve reveals the underlying image of the upright loom.

The atoms, Lucretius asserts, move continually downward in constant bombardment with other atoms; only those with *condenso conciliatu* (100; *condensere* is the term for beating up the weft) offer any resistance to such blows, since they are "intertwined by their own interwoven shapes" (*indupedita suis perplexis ipsa figuris*, 102).⁹ As an illustration of this motion, Lucretius tells us to look at the bombardment of tiny particles in a sunbeam (114-15) when the "shafts" (*radii*, the word for shuttles) of sunlight are "inserted" (*inserti*) into the dark places of a house. We may note that the language here closely resembles the terminology in Ovid's description of the weaving contest between Athena and Arachne, in which sharp shuttles are inserted in the weft:

inseritur medium radiis subtemen acutis. (*Met.* VI. 56)

Finally, Lucretius asserts that the atoms which fall downwards are being borne along by the force of their own weights (*ponderibus*, II. 88 and 218). In referring to the *pondera* of the atoms, Lucretius employs the same word that is used to describe the loom-weights attached to the ends of the warp strands.¹⁰ Although we cannot be certain, it is possible that Lucretius' extensive use of weaving metaphors here to describe the motions of the atoms derives directly from Epicurus himself, who employs the terms *περιπλοκή*, ("interlacing") and *πλεκτικός* ("entwined") with reference to atomic movement (*Ep. ad Hdt.* 43).

⁹On (*con*)*densere*, see Varro *Ling.* V. 113 (*densum a dentibus pectinis quibus feritur*); and cf. *Lucr.* VI. 482: *et quasi densendo subtexit caerulea nimbis*.

¹⁰See Sen. *Ep.* 90. 20 for the terms *pondera*, *radii*, etc. (in the context of a discussion of Posidonius' treatment of the art of weaving as a feature of the development of civilization).

Many other passages reveal how often Lucretius draws on the weaving process as a source for his descriptions. For example, in his proof that the atoms of the soul are very small, smooth, and round, he states that the lack of reduction in size or weight of a corpse as compared to the living body shows

quam tenui constet **textura** quamque loco se
contineat parvo, si possit **conglomerari**....(III. 209-10)¹¹

He goes on to argue that the atoms of the *anima* are "intertwined" among the veins, flesh, and sinews of the body (*nexam per venas viscera nervos*, III. 217; cf. III. 691).

The discussion of the *simulacra* in Book IV is similarly infused with images drawn from the art of weaving. Lucretius claims that sometimes the "films" emanating from the surface of objects are diffuse, like smoke, whereas other times they are more "woven together" and "beaten together" (*contexta...condensaque*, IV. 57). All of these *simulacra* can flit about quickly because they are endowed with such a "fine thread" (*subtili...filo*, IV. 88).

Woven fabrics also give Lucretius the occasion for a practical experiment which he describes in connection with his proof that the atoms do not themselves have color. He says that if you tear a bright purple cloth apart thread by thread (*filatim*, II. 831), you will notice that the color gradually fades away, so that you may conclude that the color would be lost altogether before the cloth was reduced to its component atoms.¹²

The pervasiveness of weaving imagery on a readily apparent level leads one to question whether Lucretius' poem may not also contain more subtle examples, particularly in the light of the poet's fondness for verbal play.¹³ Consider the wording of Lucretius' favorite lines on the darkness of ignorance:

Hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necessest
non **radii** solis neque lucida **tela** diei
discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.
(I. 146-48; II. 59-61; III. 91-93; and VI. 39-41)

¹¹Cf. Lucr. I. 360, *in lanae glomere*.

¹²Other passages containing weaving imagery not discussed in this paper: *contextae*: III. 695; *textura*: IV. 158, 196, 657; VI. 776, 1084; *textus / textum*: IV. 728, 743; V. 94; VI. 351, 997, 1054; *textilis*: II. 35; *subtexere*: V. 466; *nexus*: II. 405; VI. 958; *conectere*: II. 251, 478, 522, 700, 704, 712, 716; III. 691, 740; VI. 1010; *conexus*: I. 633; II. 726, 1020; III. 557; V. 438.

¹³See J. M. Snyder, *Puns and Poetry in Lucretius' De Rerum Natura* (B. R. Grüner, Amsterdam 1980).

It is not unreasonable to suppose that Lucretius intends the reader to absorb the ambiguities inherent in *radii* and *tela*, whereby the rays of the sun are pictured as "shuttles" weaving out the "web" of day. The image is strengthened by the appearance in the very next line of the word *exordia* (149), as Lucretius lays down the "warp threads" of his treatise.¹⁴

The double level of images in the words *radii* and *tela* is further confirmed in the last occurrence of these same lines in the poem, where they are followed immediately by this line:

quo magis inceptum pergam **pertexere** dictis. (VI. 42)

Significantly, this line, in which Lucretius pictures himself as a weaver of words, echoes his introduction in Book I of the principle that all creation consists only of atoms and void:

Sed nunc ut repetam coeptum **pertexere** dictis,
omnis, ut est igitur per se, natura duabus
constitit in rebus; nam corpora sunt et inane,
haec in quo sita sunt et qua diversa moventur. (418-21)

It is hardly surprising that Lucretius connects his own creativity as a poet with weaving, which in turn is connected with creation itself. That Lucretius sees words and the world as closely linked is shown in his repeated analogy with the *elementa*, a term he uses to refer both to the letters which make up the words of his poetry and to the atoms which combine to form the stuff of the universe.¹⁵

Lucretius as weaver demonstrates the complexity of nature's design, whereby apparent opposites, such as creation and destruction, are united in an interwoven whole. His intricate tapestry reveals the warp and woof of the atomic structure, and through his words we see before our eyes the vital web of the universe.¹⁶

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¹⁴David West, *The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius* (Edinburgh 1969), pp. 80-82 discusses the underlying loom imagery of this passage and paraphrases its effect. He notes the twice repeated phrase, *radiisque retexens aetherius sol* (V. 267 and 389).

¹⁵See Snyder (above, note 13), pp. 31-45.

¹⁶Thanks are due to the following present and former students of mine at Ohio State University for stimulating discussions and various other forms of assistance in the preparation of this study: Eugene Baron, Dr. Arnold Cohen, Scott Fisher, and Mary Ingle.

Virgil and the Elegiac Sensibility¹

E. J. KENNEY

It would, I imagine, be generally agreed that any respectable anthology of Latin love poetry should include Virgil's second and eighth *Eclogues* — and probably also the tenth. Critics have constantly emphasized the elegiac character of these poems; and as early as the first century A.D. we find it taken for granted that Corydon in *Eclogue* 2 was Virgil himself. In the naively biographical form in which the ancient sources moot the idea it is obviously untenable;² but it is difficult not to sympathize with (for instance) Karl Büchner's intuition that the poem is "ein Symbol seiner Seele"³ — that it reflects in an immediate way the poet's own experience of thwarted love. In this study I propose to touch on the already complex picture of what we know or can infer about the process of literary creation that issued in these apparently very personal poems. I will, as it were, take as my text some words of my friend and colleague Mr. Robert Coleman, who ends an eminently judicious note on the ancient biographical explanations of the second *Eclogue* with this sentence: "Whatever views we take of the poem's genesis do not affect our appreciation of it as a literary creation, in which Vergil's originality has blended a number of traditional elements to form a truly elegiac pastoral."⁴ The same remark, *mutatis mutandis*, would apply with equal force to the eighth *Eclogue*; and with it in mind I want to try to tease out, so to say, one strand of the literary web which has a particular

¹A lecture intended to be delivered (*dis aliter visum*) in the University of Leeds on 2 March 1982 as part of a commemoration of the two-thousandth anniversary of the death of Virgil.

²See R. Coleman, ed., *Vergil Eclogues* (Cambridge 1977), pp. 108-109.

³K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro, der Dichter der Römer* (Stuttgart 1957), p. 170 = *RE* VIII A, col. 1190.

⁴Coleman (above, note 2), p. 109.

bearing on the elegiac characteristics of the two poems.

This is learned poetry, derivative and obliquely allusive. That was the tradition which Virgil inherited and espoused. Originality was a function of choice from and variations upon existing models. What cannot be predicted is where the choice might fall: *which* particular incident or theme in earlier poetry was likely to appeal to the later poet, to set his imagination to work in its turn. In the context of the present discussion the question suggests itself in connection above all with Cornelius Gallus, the progenitor of Roman love-elegy, friend of Virgil, first favored and then disgraced by Augustus, whose surviving works were, until 1979, comprised in a single pentameter. In that year was published the now famous papyrus from Qaşr Ibrîm which increased the corpus some tenfold.⁵ It cannot in my view be maintained that we now know very much more than we did about Gallus' poetry — at least about the sort of things we (perhaps I should say I) most want to know. We do have a lot more questions. For a sense of what Gallus meant to Virgil in particular we must still fall back on the indirect evidence of the sixth and tenth *Eclogues*. On the basis of that evidence the conclusion that I draw is that it was not so much the quality of Gallus' poetry that caught the fancy of his contemporaries and (albeit, one suspects, largely at second hand) his successors, as his role in mediating certain Alexandrian motifs. In that sense a line like the pentameter that I have mentioned,

uno tellures diuidit amne duas,⁶

with its laboriously contrived structure reflecting the topographical content, may be more representative of Gallus' importance than the new fragment. But the arsenals of divine vengeance — in this case the rubbish-heaps of ancient Egypt — are still in business and may yet confute me.

The particular motif from which this train of thought arises is found in the tenth *Eclogue*, where Gallus, dying of unrequited love, is made to say that he is resolved to withdraw to the woods and suffer as best he may, carving the name of Lycoris on the young trees:

certum est in siluis inter spelaea ferarum
malle pati tenerisque meos incidere amores
arboribus: crescent illae, crescetis, amores. (*Ecl.* 10. 52-54)

⁵R. D. Anderson, P. J. Parsons, R. G. M. Nisbet, "Elegiacs by Gallus from Qaşr Ibrîm," *Journal of Roman Studies* 69 (1979), pp. 125-55.

⁶*Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*, p. 99 Morel. Cf. D. O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan poetry: Gallus, elegy and Rome* (Cambridge 1975), p. 39.

The motif of carving the name of the beloved on the trees is found in one of Theocritus' non-pastoral *Idylls* (18. 47-8) and in Hellenistic epigram (Glaucus, *A.P.* IX. 341 = 1819-24 G.-P., anon. 12, 130 = 3762-67). But Virgil's application of the idea is associated with another notion, that of the hapless lover retiring to the wilderness to nurse his sorrow: and in this form the source of the motif can be quite specifically identified. It is found in Callimachus' *Aetia*, in his story of the love of Acontius and Cydippe; and it is on what Callimachus may have contributed to these elegiac *Eclogues* that I principally want to enlarge here.

Wendell Clausen, in his classic paper, "Callimachus and Latin poetry," has drawn attention to Virgil's use of the word *tenuis* (slight, slender), which is applied to poetry at the beginning of the first and, even more significantly, the sixth *Eclogues*. The word, which renders the Greek λεπτός or λεπταλέος, a Callimachean term, constitutes an oblique but unmistakable assertion that "his pastoral poetry... is Callimachean in character."⁷ Clausen indeed suggests that Virgil was the most Callimachean of all Roman poets, that he "was the only Roman poet who ever read the *Aetia* all the way through."⁸ I am here to talk about Virgil, not to defend the honor of Ovid, so I pass the implicit challenge by. Whether or not Virgil had read the whole of Callimachus' highly-wrought and erudite poem, his exploitation of this episode, the story of Acontius and Cydippe, was selective; and so was that of the other poets to whose use of it we can point, Propertius and Ovid. What is of interest is *what* they selected and *how* they proceeded to use it.

For those who are not familiar with the story a summary will be helpful.

Acontius, a beautiful youth from Ceos, fell in love with the equally beautiful Cydippe of Naxos on seeing her at a festival in Delos. He threw in the way of her nurse an apple [quince?] on which he had written 'I swear by Artemis to marry Acontius'. The nurse picked it up and, being illiterate, asked Cydippe to read the inscription, which she did — aloud. She kept the episode to herself and returned to Naxos and to the marriage that her father had already arranged for her. Meanwhile Acontius had betaken himself into the countryside to be alone with his great love and to carve the name of his beloved on the trees. In Naxos a day was three times arranged for Cydippe's

⁷W. Clausen, "Callimachus and Latin poetry," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5 (1964), p. 194. Cf. E. A. Schmidt, *Poetische Reflexionen. Vergils Bukolik* (München 1972), pp. 19-32.

⁸Clausen (above, note 7), p. 187.

marriage, and three times she mysteriously fell ill so that the wedding could not take place. The fourth time her father went to Delphi and consulted Apollo, who disclosed the girl's involuntary oath and advised its fulfilment. So Acontius and Cydippe were married, and Callimachus' version of the story concluded with the genealogical *aetion* [explanation of origin] which we must take it was the *raison d'être* of the story so far as its inclusion in his poem was concerned.⁹

We have extensive fragments of Callimachus' text, and the gaps can be filled with some approximation to reliability from the Greek prose version of the fifth-century epistolographer Aristaenetos. Unfortunately, for the portion which now concerns us, the description of Acontius' *Waldeinsamkeit* and the expostulatory monologue which he delivered to the trees, we are almost wholly dependent on Aristaenetos. Here Ovid is no help; he treated the story elaborately in his *Heroides* (20 and 21), but made no direct use of this episode, partly because it was not germane to his own approach, but also possibly because it had already been exploited by Gallus, as the tenth *Eclogue* clearly shows, by Propertius, and, as I shall argue, by Virgil.

I alluded to the *combination* of ideas in Callimachus. This, though it cannot be proved, is likely to have been due to him. He may indeed have drawn on an elegy by his contemporary Phanocles, his "Ἐρωτες ἢ καλοῖ," "Loves or beautiful boys." We have a substantial fragment of this poem, which begins with three couplets describing how Orpheus sang of his love for Calais "in the shady woods," σκιεροῖσιν ἐν ἄλσεσιν.¹⁰ Though Orpheus in this description suffers sleepless pain, there is no suggestion in Phanocles' text of ideas of withdrawal or solitude; if they were implied, Callimachus made them explicit. Certainly they are prominent in Propertius' exploitation of the passage, his elegy I. 18. Propertius' indebtedness to Callimachus in this poem is beyond question and has been well analyzed by Francis Cairns, who emphasizes "the wild and solitary circumstances of his utterance."¹¹ Propertius no doubt drew on Gallus' adaptation as well, as argued by David Ross¹² — a reminder of the interlocking character of this poetical tradition. As Cairns and other commentators have noted, Propertius transformed his originals by imparting a strongly forensic tone to his lover's soliloquy, turning it into "a speech for the defence." That kind of bid for

⁹E. J. Kenney, "Law and legalism: Ovid, *Heroides* 20 and 21," *Arion* 9 (1970), pp. 390-91.

¹⁰See Phanocles fr. I. 1-6 Powell.

¹¹F. Cairns, "Propertius i. 18 and Callimachus, *Acontius and Cydippe*," *Classical Review* n.s. 19 (1969), p. 133.

¹²Ross (above, note 6), pp. 73-74.

originality was the poet's prerogative; what Virgil made of it was different again — and wholly Virgilian.

Love as a theme of the *Eclogues* makes its first real appearance in the first word of the first line of the second *Eclogue* and does so in striking, almost defiant, guise: *formosum* — a beautiful *male*. The next word, in the nominative case, reveals that the lover of the *formosus* is not a woman: *formosum pastor* — a (male) shepherd. So far as sense goes the rest of the line is expendable: we already know the plot. But the last word in the line, the name of the *formosus*, sets the tone for what follows: Alexis belongs to the elegiac rather than the pastoral tradition.¹³ Conington's remarks on all this have been much quoted and as often derided: "We should be glad, with Ribbeck, to believe it to be purely imaginary, though even then it is sufficiently degrading to Virgil."¹⁴ But those who, like H. J. Rose, vigorously denounce Conington for (in effect) having been born when he was, are apt to overlook that there is a real problem here, though it is of a literary-historical rather than a moral or biographical order.¹⁵ In the genesis of Roman elegy an important part was played by Hellenistic erotic epigram; and Callimachus had imparted to the genre a strongly homosexual cast. This element the Roman elegists tended to ignore or play down. Catullus was not and is not remembered for the handful of Juventius-poems; and Tibullus (it is an interesting experiment) incorporated his Marathus in a triangle with the poet-lover and the girl Pholoe. Virgil's Corydon is in fact bisexual; and the same might be said, in a different sense, of Callimachus' Acontius. In his treatment of the story, Acontius starts out as *formosus*, καλός, a beautiful boy courted by youths and men. When he falls in love with the beautiful, inaccessible and much sought-after Cydippe he experiences a total bouleversement of his existence — now *he* knows what it is like to be, as it were, on the receiving end, to be in love and have no hope.¹⁶ In any Greek society in which the courting of boys by older males, as documented by Sir Kenneth Dover, was part of the normal social pattern, such reversals were no doubt recurrent dramas of everyday life. We find the idea indeed exploited in an epigram by Meleager (*A.P.* XII. 109 = 4308-11

¹³Cf. Meleager, *A.P.* XII. 127 = 4420-27 G.-P.; Coleman (above, note 2), *ad loc.*; J. van Sickle, *The design of Virgil's Bucolics* (Rome 1978), p. 125, n. 61.

¹⁴J. Conington-H. Nettleship, ed., *The works of Virgil I. Eclogues and Georgics*, 5th ed. rev. F. Haverfield (London 1898), p. 35.

¹⁵H. J. Rose, *The Eclogues of Vergil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1942), p. 26. Cf. G. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), p. 304: "It is easier to see that [Conington's] is an absurd remark than to explain why Virgil made the change."

¹⁶Callim. fr. 68, 69 Pf.; Aristaen. I. 10. 7-17 M.

G.-P.), more allusively by Theocritus (*Id.* 7. 117 ff.), and we may perhaps catch a passing whiff of it at the end of Horace's "Soluitur acris hiems." It is here that the apparently decorative detail of the carving of Cydippe's name on the trees becomes significant. Acontius must have been used to seeing his own name written up on walls (this habit is documented, if documentation is needed, by Dover¹⁷): Ἀκόντιος καλός, "Acontius is fair." Now, suddenly, it is he who is doing the writing, and the name is a girl's: Κυδίππη καλή.¹⁸ The change of gender in the Greek makes a point that Callimachus' readers were better attuned to take than we are; for women were not as a rule the subject of such inscriptions, unless they were no better than they should be — and in that case the message was more likely than not to be abusive.¹⁹

That Virgil did indeed have the Acontius-story in mind when he wrote the second *Eclogue* is by no means a new suggestion; it has already been argued by (e.g.) Professor La Penna and Mr. Ian DuQuesnay.²⁰ The idea is not taken up by Mr. Coleman in his commentary, but to my mind it is rendered overwhelmingly probable by consideration of the first five verses of the poem:

formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin,
delicias domini, nec quid speraret habebat.
tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
adsidue ueniebat. ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et siluis studio iactabat inani. (*Ecl.* 2. 1-5)

The setting is precisely that of Acontius' outburst, and there is one detail which may come directly from Callimachus: the beeches. In the fifth *Eclogue* Mopsus inscribes his song in the green bark of a beech, *in uiridi... cortice fagi* (5. 13). Furthermore the trees to which Propertius appeals as witnesses and in whose bark he writes the name of Cynthia are specified as beeches and pines, *fagus et Arcadio pinus amica deo* (I. 18. 20). Now Aristaenetus, on whom as I have said we are here dependent, makes Acontius utter his lament sitting under the oaks or the

¹⁷K. J. Dover, *Greek Homosexuality* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978), pp. 111-24.

¹⁸Callim. fr. 73 Pf.

¹⁹Dover (above, note 17), pp. 113-14; D. M. Robinson and E. J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek love-names* (Baltimore 1937), pp. 1-2, 10-11; Beazley, *Attic red-figure vase-painters* (2nd ed., Oxford 1963) II, pp. 1559-1616; *Attic black-figure vase-painters* (Oxford 1956), pp. 676-78.

²⁰A. La Penna, "La seconda Ecloga e la poesia bucolica di Virgilio," *Maia* 15 (1963), p. 488; I. M. Le M. DuQuesnay, "From Polyphemus to Corydon," in D. West and T. Woodman, edd., *Creative imitation and Latin literature* (Cambridge 1979), p. 48 and nn. 127, 131.

poplars, *φηγοῖς ὑποκαθήμενος ἢ πελέαις*.²¹ It is a fair guess, as Cairns and Ross have suggested,²² that Virgil's *fagi* were borrowed from Callimachus' *φηγοί*, whether by Virgil himself or Gallus. We are not bound to believe that the two poets, or their successors, were unaware that *fagus* is not an accurate rendering of *φηγός*, which is a quite different tree. Deliberate mistakes of this kind themselves might count as erudition.²³ What mattered in this case was the Callimachean *sound* of the word in the context. Having used *fagus* in *Eclogue* 2, the earliest of the collection, for these specifically Callimachean associations, Virgil went on to make it a regular feature of the pastoral décor;²⁴ and it may be more than coincidental that in the collection as arranged for publication the word makes its first appearance in the first line of the first poem — followed closely by the programmatic word *tenuis*:

Tityre, tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
siluestrem tenui Musam meditaris auena. (*Ecl.* 1. 1-2)

The manner in which Virgil turns the Callimachean Acontius to account is interestingly economical. In effect he dichotomizes him. As *καλός*, *formosus*, *puer delicatus*, Acontius becomes Alexis; as disconsolate lover he becomes Corydon — the character into which Virgil is thought to have projected himself. Corydon's role as pursuer is also taken over from Callimachus, from the unnamed pursuers of Acontius. The detail of v. 12 *tua dum uestigia lustris* is evidently lifted from that source, for we read in Aristaenetus that many of Acontius' lovers in

²¹Aristaen. I. 10. 57 M.

²²Cairns (above, note 11), p. 133, Ross (above, note 6), p. 72. This is a simpler and more plausible explanation than that suggested by Williams (above, note 15), p. 318: that Virgil was led to adopt the *φηγός* because he was taken with the simile at Theoc. *Id.* 12. 8-9, where its shade symbolizes the beloved. However, the suggestion (DuQuesnay [above, note 20], p. 40) that he meant his *fagi* to be thought of as oaks rather than beeches strikes me as implausible.

²³Another case of what might be called learned catachresis is the famous crux at *Ecl.* 8. 58 *omnia uel medium fiat mare*. The idea that Virgil misunderstood *πάντα δ' ἔραλλα γένοιτο* at Theoc. *Id.* 1. 134 is rightly scouted by most commentators (the error, if he could have committed it, would not have survived the revision in the light of readings to friends which must have preceded the collected edition of the poems); but he cannot have expected the apparent echo to pass unnoticed. It must have been intended as an allusive claim to the poet's right to innovate — but almost always on the basis of an existing model. So with *φηγός-fagus*. An analogous case is Catullus' use of *lepidus* to suggest *λεπτός*.

²⁴Cf. Ross (above, note 6), p. 72: "the *fagus* is, beyond all others perhaps, the tree of the Eclogues."

the violence of their passion fitted their feet into his footsteps.²⁵ This characterization is imposed on the *dramatis personae* that Virgil took over from his main source, the eleventh *Idyll* of Theocritus. The clownish Cyclops becomes Acontius-Corydon, Galatea becomes Acontius-Alexis. These transformations are part of a general complication and enrichment of the Theocritean original. In that simple plot Virgil has incorporated most of the standard ingredients of love-elegy as we know them from Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid: separation, the rich rival, the heartless beloved, love as infatuation, the lover as a figure of suffering. It is a complete transposition of the elegiac situation into the pastoral mode. What is individual to Virgil and what makes the poem effective and moving is his manner of developing the same hint in Callimachus that Propertius also seized on: the sense of the lover's *isolation*. In Callimachus (Aristaenetus) Acontius appeals to the trees: "Do *you* feel this passion? Does the cypress feel love for the pine? No, I do not believe it; for in that case you would not simply shed your leaves in your grief, but the sickness of love would burn you right down to trunk and roots."²⁶ This idea of alienation Virgil carried even further and did so in an extraordinarily powerful way. In him Corydon seems to stand, as it were, outside nature; as he sings time, for him, stands still, while for the rest of the world the eternal rhythm of life goes on regardless of his suffering. The six verses in which this feeling is conveyed are among the most poignant and haunting in all Latin literature:

nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant,
 nunc uiridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos,
 Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu
 alia serpyllumque herbas contundit olentis.
 at mecum raucis, tua dum uestigia lustrō,
 sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis. (*Ecl.* 2. 8-13)

The final detail of the relentless, endless shrilling of the cicadas somehow crystallizes the vast impersonal indifference of nature towards individual human anguish. It is in the timeless suspense created by this description that Corydon's whole complaint, with as its centre his idealized vision of life in the countryside with the beloved, is uttered; until at the end of the poem he awakes to the realization that it is sunset, that time has not really stood still, and that outside the temporary refuge of his self-pitying fantasies the rhythms of the actual world, in which after all he must seek the solution of his troubles, have gone inexorably on. The tension between that reality and Corydon's wistful

²⁵Aristaen. I. 10. 13-14 M. Cf. Meleager, *A.P.* XII. 84. 5 = 4606 G.-P.

²⁶Aristaen. I. 10. 74-79 M.

dreaming "in quest of an elusive world of innocence"²⁷ — this tension is what informs the poem. It is not finally resolved; the ending, like that of *Miser Catulle*, remains ambiguous and ironical.²⁸ More than one critic has noted the touches of humor in all this; but in the *Eclogue's* pathos tinged now and then with absurdity (as Mr. Coleman puts it),²⁹ we have come a long way from the simple comedy of Theocritus' rustic Cyclops.

In the eighth *Eclogue*³⁰ Virgil combines and adapts ideas from several of Theocritus' *Idylls*, most notably the second, the *Pharmaceutriae*, which provides the material for the second of the two corresponding songs, that of Alpheisiboeus. One feature of his treatment is at first sight puzzling: admirers of Theocritus' powerful poem are apt to wonder why Virgil has apparently left out the best part of it — why Simaetha's narrative of her love for Delphis has been allowed to disappear, leaving only the magic sequence. In fact of course the missing part has been turned to account elsewhere. In the centre of the magic ritual stands the singer's prayer:

talis amor Daphnin qualis cum fessa iuuen-
per nemora atque altos quaerendo bucula lucos
propter aquae riuum uiridi procumbit in ulua
perdita, nec serae meminit decedere nocti,
talis amor teneat, nec sit mihi cura mederi. (*Ecl.* 8. 85-89)

This wonderful Lucretian simile, as Mr. Coleman notes, reveals the speaker's true feelings: "The wistful longing and the weariness of the searcher belong to *her*."³¹ The picture of *spatially* distant yearning which is the centrepiece of the second song corresponds both formally and thematically to the *temporally* distant picture which stands in the centre of the first song in the *Eclogue*, that of Damon.

²⁷Eleanor W. Leach, *Vergil's Eclogues. Landscapes of experience* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1974), p. 150. It is the same world as that yearned for by Gallus at *Ecl.* 10. 35-41; Leach, p. 159 and n. 22. On the innocence of the pastoral landscape cf. A. Parry, "Landscape in Greek poetry," *Yale Classical Studies* 15 (1957), p. 10.

²⁸A point rightly emphasized by E. A. Schmidt, "Review of Sebastian Posch, *Beobachtungen zur Theokritnachwirkung bei Vergil*," *Gnomon* 44 (1972), p. 775, with earlier literature; cf. DuQuesnay (above, note 20), pp. 58-59.

²⁹Coleman (above, note 2), p. 253. For a discussion of the *Eclogue* in which full justice is done to Virgil's handling of his models see DuQuesnay (above, note 20).

³⁰See A. Richter, ed., *Virgile: la huitième Bucolique* (Paris 1970).

³¹Coleman (above, note 2), p. 249 (my italics). There is also a distant echo of Acontius-Corydon in the idea of a hopeless search for the beloved "per nemora atque altos... lucos"; cf. above, note 25.

This song is a tirade against the perfidy of a girl called Nysa — a typically elegiac theme. Once again the setting is the woods, which form a frame to the song, being referred to or addressed at its beginning (vv. 22-24) and at its end (v. 58). As in Callimachus (Aristaenetus), as in the picture of Gallus in the tenth *Eclogue* (10. 8), and as in Propertius (I. 18), the trees are figured as an audience likely to be in sympathy with the singer's appeal:

Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis
semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores
Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis. (*Ecl.* 8. 22-4)

This is in contrast to the opening of the second *Eclogue*, the implication of which is that Corydon's words are *unheeded* by the woods and hills:

ibi haec incondita solus
montibus et siluis studio iactabat inani. (*Ecl.* 2. 4-5)

The heart of Damon's song, corresponding to the simile of the heifer at vv. 85-89, is the scene in the orchard:

saepibus in nostris paruam te roscida mala —
dux ego uester eram — uidi cum matre legentem.
alter ab undecimo tum me iam acceperat annus,
iam fragilis poteram a terra contingere ramos.
ut uidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error! (*Ecl.* 8. 37-41)

The passage has charmed many readers, including Voltaire and Macaulay;³² perhaps nowhere else in all literature has there been captured in so brief a compass so perfect an evocation of the haunting idea of the lost paradise of childhood — the image so movingly explored by (to mention only one example) Alain Fournier in *Le grand Meaulnes*. As with Fournier, so in Virgil the data have been artfully manipulated. Of the personal experience which engendered Fournier's novel we know a good deal; of Virgil's life we really know very little. What we can document is the treatment of his poetic originals. The broad outlines of the picture are drawn from Theocritus' eleventh *Idyll*, the chief source for *Eclogue* 2, where the Cyclops recalls how he first saw Galatea:

ἡράσθην μὲν ἔγωγε τεοῦς, κόρα, ἀνίκα πρᾶτον
ἦνθες ἐμᾶ σὺν ματρὶ θέλοισ' ὑακίνθινα φύλλα
ἐξ ὄρεος δρέψασθαι, ἐγὼ δ' ὁδὸν ἀγεμόνονον.

(*Id.* 11. 25-27)

To this Virgil has added Simaetha's recollection of the first time she saw Delphis — what critics resort to French to describe, the *coup de*

³²T. Pinney, ed., *The letters of Thomas Babington Macaulay* III (London 1976), p. 62 and n. 4; cf. D. Knowles, *Lord Macaulay 1800-1859* (Cambridge 1960), pp. 26-27.

foudre:

χὼς ἴδον, ὥς ἐμάνην, ὥς μοι πυρὶ θυμὸς ἰάφθη.

(*Id.* 2. 82)

But the *malus error* in Virgil's adaptation seems to owe something also to the description of Atalanta's love for Hippomenes in the third *Idyll*:

ὥς ἴδεν, ὥς ἐμάνη, ὥς ἐς βαθὺν ἄλατ' ἔρωτα.

(*Id.* 3. 42)

The rationale of Virgil's dealings with his originals begins to emerge. If, as suggested by Mr. Coleman, his intention in this *Eclogue* was "to demonstrate that in the face of love's disappointments... success comes not to the gentle and plaintive but to the bold and resourceful,"³³ the passionate retrospection of Simaetha's soliloquy must be transferred to the song in which the failure of the "gentle and plaintive" lover is depicted. This — the essential rightness and the pathetic effect of the idea in its transferred setting — is no doubt the weightiest reason for Virgil's manner of proceeding. But it is possible that other considerations also influenced him.

There is one feature of the love-story of Nysa and her rejected lover that continues to exercise the commentators and for which, so far as I know, no really convincing explanation has been adduced.³⁴ Nysa is not merely unfaithful in the conventional elegiac sense that she has abandoned her lover for another. She had evidently been formally betrothed to him and is now about to be *married* to Mopsus. The singer's reference to the gods, taken by itself, is inexplicit:

coniugis indigno Nysae deceptus amore
dum queror et diuos, quamquam nil testibus illis
profeci, extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora. (*Ecl.* 8. 18-20)

Virgil, however, must have intended his readers to notice that this is based on a passage in Catullus' *Peleus and Thetis*:

non tamen ante mihi languescent lumina morte,
nec prius a fesso secedent corpore sensus,
quam iustam a diuis exposcam prodita multam
caelestumque fidem postrema comprecser hora. (64. 188-91)

This comes in Ariadne's famous complaint of the treachery of Theseus — a complaint of desertion *by a husband*. The oath referred to by the singer was one taken by Nysa to *marry* him. All this is quite out of character in the world of Roman elegy, in which betrothal and marriage

³³Coleman (above, note 2), p. 255.

³⁴Cf. Richter (above, note 30), pp. 29-32, 44-46, 138-40.

do not belong.³⁵ Words like *uir* and *coniunx* or *coniugium* are used on occasion with calculated ambiguity of the elegiac relationship, but that is different. What we have here is generically incongruous. The difficulty is not met by styling Nysa "an 'Arcadian' wife"³⁶ — whatever exactly that means. Nowhere else in the *Eclogues* or in Roman love-elegy is there any real analogy for this variant of the jilted lover theme. But there *is* an exactly parallel situation, as we have seen, in Callimachus: his Acontius and Cydippe. Cydippe had actually sworn — albeit unwittingly and unwillingly — to marry Acontius, and she was then betrothed to another man. This looks like the "plot" which was in Virgil's mind when he composed Damon's song.

If so, other parts of the pattern fall into place with a neatness which would be curious if it were altogether accidental.

(1) As we have already noted, Virgil took the general idea of *Ecl.* 8. 37-41 from Theocritus' *Idyll* 11. There it was hyacinths that Galatea was picking; Virgil has changed them to apples. The erotic symbolism of the apple is familiar, and may be seen here as "a promise of amatory experience,"³⁷ a hint of what was to come; but it is difficult not to be reminded of the role of the apple (or quince: in Greek and Latin the same word may serve) in Acontius' strategem — a role in that story too symbolic as well as practical.

(2) Damon begins and ends his song (vv. 20, 60) with a threat of suicide. This is borrowed from Theocritus (3. 25-27; cf. 3. 42, quoted above); but as in other instances the borrowing takes on additional resonance from (if it was not suggested by) Callimachus, in whom (Aristaenetus) Acontius, on first seeing Cydippe, declared that for him it was now marriage or death, ἢ γάμον ἢ θάνατον.³⁸

(3) The motif of overwhelming love at first sight — the *coup de foudre* — was of course familiar in the literary tradition. One thinks of Medea's first sight of Jason in Apollonius' *Argonautica*; and, as we have noted, it was prominent in the Theocritean original(s) of *Ecl.* 8. 37-41. It was also prominent in the Callimachean story: Aristaenetus enlarges on both the violence of the wound dealt by Love to Acontius and also

³⁵The closest parallel adduced by Richter (above, note 30) is Diosc. *A.P.* V. 52 = 1491-96 G.-P. In Roman elegy the notion of marriage is always intrusive: at Ov. *Am.* III. 13. 1 the word *coniunx* (of the poet's actual wife) operates like a dash of cold water, dramatizing the break with love-elegy and the (ostensible) way of life entailed by it and the new departure into aetiological elegy, of which the poem itself is a sample.

³⁶Coleman (above, note 2), p. 231.

³⁷Leach (above, note 27), p. 154.

³⁸Aristaen. I. 10. 21 M.

on its instantaneous operation;³⁹ and here his witness is borne out by that of Ovid:

Ordine fac referas ut sis mihi cognita primum,
sacra pharetratae dum facit ipsa deae;
ut te conspecta subito, si forte notasti,
restiterim fixis in tua membra genis,
et, te dum nimium miror, nota certa furoris,
deciderint umero pallia lapsa meo. (*Her.* 20. 203-08)

It is possible that the idea of borrowing the motif of *Ecl.* 8. 37-40 from Theocritus' *Idyll* 11 and combining it with the motif of love at first sight from *Idyll* 2 may have been suggested to Virgil by the part played by the latter motif in the Callimachean story.

(4) Connected with this last point is the emphasis on the power of love, Amor, in Damon's song. The words "nunc scio quid sit Amor" (43), "now I know what manner of thing is Love," are based directly on Theocritus (*Id.* 3. 15); but the emphasis and perhaps the borrowing itself may have been suggested by Callimachus. In him Acontius' reactions to the wound dealt him by Love and the poet's own comments (here the fragments, Aristaenetus and Ovid all tell the same tale) combine to stress the power of this arbitrary god to change the course of a man's life.

(5) In Theocritus, Galatea and her mother are picking flowers "on the hill" and Polyphemus shows them the way. In Virgil the meeting takes place "saepibus in nostris," in an enclosed orchard. In Callimachus (Aristaenetus), Acontius first saw Cydippe in the precinct of Artemis and plucked his apple (quince) from the garden of Aphrodite.⁴⁰

(6) When the singer and Nysa first met they were mere children. One French commentator was driven to invoke "southern precocity" to account for the violence of the singer's childish passion.⁴¹ In Theocritus, Polyphemus is an adolescent, "with the down new on his lips and temples"; he has loved Galatea since the encounter on the hillside, but there is nothing in the text to indicate how long ago that took place. Virgil goes out of his way to emphasize that this was indeed child-love: the singer just twelve and Nysa small — *paruam*. And whereas in Theocritus Galatea was accompanied by *Polyphemus'* mother, in Virgil,

³⁹Aristaen. I. 10. 17-20, 24 M.; cf. Callim. fr. 70 Pf. See also K. Kost, ed., *Musaïos Hero und Leander* (Bonn 1971), pp. 273-74 and n. 282.

⁴⁰Aristaen. I. 10. 24-26 M.

⁴¹Guillemin, cit. Richter (above, note 30), p. 51. As Richter comments, "Ce n'est plus l'enfant qui parle, mais l'homme."

though the words "cum matre" are ambiguous, no doubt intentionally so, to avoid making the change from the model inartistically obvious, they most naturally mean, and are generally taken to mean, "with *your* mother." This too squares with Callimachus, where Acontius is still a pretty boy, not a hobbledohoy, and Cydippe is called small, ὀλίγην,⁴² of which *paruam* is a literal rendering. We do not learn from Callimachus (Aristaenetus) that Cydippe was with her mother when she visited the sanctuary where Acontius saw her, but this detail is in Ovid's adaptation of the story.⁴³

(7) The two songs of *Eclogue* 8 both correspond and contrast with each other. Damon's song ends with an invocation of chaos and a threat of suicide, Alphesiboeus' with the return of Delphis from the city. To the "happy ending" of *Eclogue* 8 there is no counterpart in either the second or the eleventh *Idylls* of Theocritus, both of which close on a note of frustrated longing. It is a fair guess that the happy ending may have been imported from the Acontius story.

No single item in this list, which is not exhaustive, is cogent taken in isolation, and some are admittedly speculative. All together they seem to me to lend weight to the likelihood — to put it no more strongly — that Virgil had Callimachus very much in his mind when he wrote the eighth *Eclogue*, even more than when he wrote the second. In making this suggestion I am not of course seeking to imply that it amounts to an explanation of why the poems are what they are. The transformation which Virgil wrought in the ideas and materials which he took from earlier poetry remains unforeseeable and individual to him. Critics have sensed that in Corydon there is much of Virgil himself;⁴⁴ and the beauty and intensity of the two complementary vignettes around which the songs of the eighth *Eclogue* are constructed may seem to some to authorize a similar inference. That is as it may be. It is notoriously fallacious to read the biography of a poet from his poetry. Wordsworth's "Solitary Reaper" reads, and was meant to read, as the echo of a real experience intensely endured. We happen to know that the idea which lends the poem its special poignancy, the plaintive song of the girl as she worked alone — that this idea came out of a book.⁴⁵ What emerged from the interaction between first- and second-hand experience was a work of art that transcends and is indeed irrelevant to

⁴²Callim. fr. 67. 9 Pf.

⁴³Ov. *Her.* 21. 87-96.

⁴⁴Cf. Richter (above, note 30), p. 19; O. Skutsch, "Symmetry and sense in the *Eclogues*," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1968), p. 160.

⁴⁵J. Beer, *Wordsworth and the human heart* (New York 1978), pp. 134-35.

its origins. "The voice of a single girl, singing in a field, has become eloquent of the resources of a common humanity and shared emotion which, while her song lasts, are known to be possessed fundamentally by every member of the human race."⁴⁶

"While her song lasts..."; and the songs of Corydon, of Damon, of Alpheisiboeus. They have lasted for two thousand years; and in commemorating them we also commemorate the other poets, Greek and Roman, who stirred Virgil's imagination and set it to work on its unpredictable course. Theocritus still appeals strongly to us in his own right — but Callimachus? In spite of all the admirable work on him that has been done and is still being done by Clausen and others, his influence on Latin poetry from Catullus onwards — its extent and its strength — remains to me an unexpected and slightly mystifying phenomenon. The fact of it cannot be disputed. In this study I have tried to isolate and illustrate Virgil's response to one of the stories in the *Aetia* about which we chance to be relatively well informed, against the background of its reception and adaptation by three of his contemporaries, Gallus, Propertius and Ovid. Three of the four seized on the one element in Callimachus' treatment which had obvious pathetic value, his retreat to the wilderness and his unhappy soliloquy there. The odd man out was Ovid, who (as I have argued elsewhere⁴⁷) addressed himself to the possibilities which Callimachus had *not* exploited and so gave the story a totally new complexion. This he did by jettisoning Callimachus' characterization of Acontius as *καλὸς παῖς*, *formosus puer*, and making a man of him; and by creating *ex nihilo* a character for Cydippe, who in the original is a puppet. The motif exploited by the other three poets he did not entirely discard, for the whole of *Heroides* 20, the epistle of Acontius, is in effect a much expanded version, though in a different (unspecified) setting, of Acontius' original expostulation to the trees. The idea of alienation from nature he left severely alone; what Virgil did with it in the second *Eclogue* I have tried, briefly and inadequately, to indicate.

Those who read the *Aeneid* in a correctly punctuated text know that Virgil did not make Aeneas offer (still less offer himself) the words "sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt" as a comment on the human condition.⁴⁸ Nevertheless those who persist in quoting the verse out of context, as in spite of the objections of pedants they will,

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁴⁷Kenney (above, note 9), pp. 391, 404-05; "Two Disputed Passages in the *Heroides*," *Classical Quarterly* n.s. 29 (1979), pp. 425-28.

⁴⁸Cf. "Two Footnotes," *Classical Review* n.s. 14 (1964), p. 13.

re intuitively and essentially justified. Virgil's sensibility to suffering is something peculiar to him, and it is why the *Aeneid* is an epic like no other that was ever written. As Clausen observes, in the reflected lustre of the *Aeneid* the young poet is very hard to see;⁴⁹ but the same sense of overpowering isolation experienced by the reader of Corydon's complaint is there unmistakably in the character of Aeneas.⁵⁰ Beside the nature agonies of Dido and Aeneas, set against a background of the rise and fall of dynasties and empires, the songs of the *Eclogues*, in their settings of conventional elegiac and pastoral motifs and written in hexameter distinguished by mannerisms which had no place in the more austere epic tradition, are apt to tempt the unsympathetic critic to dismiss them as artificial. So they are, but they are not therefore false: the sensibility is the same, something that we call Virgilian because there is no other word for it:

tale tuum carmen nobis, diuine poeta,
quale sopor fessis in gramine, quale per aestum
dulcis aquae saliente sitim restinguere riuo. (*Ecl.* 5. 45-47)

After two thousand years the song lasts; the spring still flows; Delphi has long been given up to the archaeologist and the tourist; of this oracle the speaking water has not been quenched.

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⁴⁹W. Clausen in E. J. Kenney and W. Clausen, edd., *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature II. Latin literature* (Cambridge 1982), p. 306.

⁵⁰G. Lieberg, "Vergils Aeneis als Dichtung der Einsamkeit," in H. Bardon and R. Verdière, edd., *Vergiliana: recherches sur Virgile* (Leiden 1971), pp. 175-91.

The Literary Background of Virgil: Notes on the Vocabulary of the *Georgics*

ANTONIO TOVAR

Virgil can be considered linguistically as a poet who had to solve stylistic problems by selecting words. Latin poets, who depended mostly on Greek models, were aware of these difficulties, and their works bear witness to a conscious effort in this direction. The *Georgics*, half-way between the still irregular poetry of the neoteric young Virgil and the classic epos of the *Aeneid*, show by their vocabulary the evolution of the poet. Virgil in his poetical career became a master of language. Latin poetry depended after him on the language he had shaped. Like Cicero in prose, he was the classic model in poetry.

How did Virgil give form to his poetic style? He was never so critically minded as Horace about his predecessors in Roman poetry. If Horace, bringing to the Roman Parnassus the Muses of Archilochos, Pindar and the Lesbians, had to break away from the neoteric poets and could not find any guidance in the epic tradition, Virgil, only seventeen years younger than Catullus, and just five older than Horace, but educated in the provinces, derived more directly from the current streams of Roman poetry.

Cicero's classicism was eclectic and so was Virgil's, much more than Horace's. The model for the *Georgics* was, especially in book I, Hesiod, although inevitably the old poet, archaic and rough for the cultivated Romans of those times, was imitated by him in a modern and critical spirit.

It is generally known that the first hemistich of *Georgics* I. 299 is a translation: *nudus ara, sere nudus*. But what in Hesiod was a primitive reminiscence, is explained by Virgil rationalistically and, it seems, unnecessarily: nudity in plowing and sowing meant for him that this

operation must be finished before the arrival of the winter: *nudus ara, sere nudus; hiems ignava colono*. Thus Virgil modernizes the Hesiodic prescription (*Erga* 391-93):

γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνον δὲ βοωτεῖν,
 γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν, εἴ χ' ὥρια πάντ' ἐθέλησθα
 ἔργα κομίζεσθαι Δημήτερος....

Posterity could not understand these archaic customs, and in fact Virgil contradicts his own explanation¹ in the following verses (305-310), in which he speaks of the farmer's activities during the *ignava hiems*, the quiet winter. Some contemporary readers did not accept Virgil's rationalization, and, as the *Vita Donati*² says, an envious detractor of the poet parodied Virgil's line thus: *nudus ara, sere nudus: habebis frigore febrem*.

Grammarians who commented on Hesiod had difficulties with the passage in the *Erga*. We find in the scholia³ two interpretations: one of them, which Virgil followed, simply prescribes doing the job before the cold arrives (and perhaps because of that Virgil did not translate the Hesiodic ἀμάειν "to harvest"); the other, which seems to be older, and is considered by Wilamowitz⁴ to be Proclus', states that the plowman should not wear any clothes which could impede his movements. Even the ἱμάτιον of the scholia would be too much.

In fact, it is well attested that nudity was usual in plowing among the ancients. Wilamowitz⁵ draws attention to a vase of Nicosthenes, and in M. L. West's commentary⁶ examples of Greek vases, collected by A. S. F. Gow, confirm that plowing and sowing were carried out both in the nude and with some clothes on. In the Hesiodic *Scutum Herc.* 287 plowmen wear clothes tucked up.⁷ Modern commentators have compromised by sometimes translating the Virgilian *nudus* as

¹As E. Paratore comments on I. 305 ff., *Le Georgiche* (7th ed., Milan 1964).

²Ed. I. Brummer, p. 10.

³*Scholia Vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, rec. Augustinus Pertusi, Pubbl. dell'Università Cattol. S. Cuore, Vol. LIII (Milan, n.d.), p. 136: πρὸ ψύχους, φησὶν, ἐν ᾧ δυνήσῃ γυμνὸς εἶναι καὶ βουσίῳ ἐπακολουθεῖν. ἀντὶ τοῦ ὥσάν πρόθυμος ἔσῃ περὶ τὸ ἔργον, μὴ φορῶν τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, ἵνα μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. Servius agrees with the first explanation: *adeo sereno caelo ut amictum possis contemnere* (in *Georg.* I. 299).

⁴*Hesiodos Erga*, erklärt von U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Berlin 1928), p. 88.

⁵*Ibidem*.

⁶Hesiod, *Works and Days*, ed. with Prolegomena and Commentary by M. L. West (Oxford 1978), p. 257.

⁷Hesiod, *Scutum Herc.*, a cura di C. F. Russo (Florence 1950), *in loc.*

"ohne Oberkleid," "just with a tunic,"⁸ forgetting that Pliny (*Nat. hist.* XVIII. 20) speaks of the nudity of Cincinnatus who was called to his military duties from the plow (cf. also Livy III. 26. 9).

Since Virgil was imitating Hesiod's *Erga*, he was obliged, in spite of being nearly a neoteric, to accept, under the influence of Lucretius, the whole epic tradition of Roman literature. Let us consider now a few epic elements in Virgil's vocabulary.

The adverb *ceu* never appears in the *Bucolics*, or in the *Appendix*. But for epic comparisons *ceu* was the right word to translate ὥς or ὥσπερ. Thus *ceu* is not found in the old comic poets, or in prose previous to Seneca, but it occurs⁹ in Ennius and Lucretius, and in Catullus' epic poem 64 (v. 239); in using it Virgil gives the necessary epic flavor to his style in the *Georgics*:

ceu pressae cum iam portum tetigere carinae...(I. 303)

ceu naufraga corpora fluctus...(III. 542)

ceu pulvere ab alto...(IV. 96).

It is interesting to observe that among the scanty fragments of Varius, the intimate friend of Virgil, one has been preserved (Morel, *Frag. poet. latin.*, p. 100, no. 4) where *ceu* introduces the comparison of a bitch pursuing a hind. The Epicurean subject of this poem *De morte* imposed a Lucretian vocabulary on Varius.

Virgil's wish to stress his epic vocation by evoking Ennius is found in the use of expressions like *nox intempesta*. This had been coined by Ennius (*Ann.* 102 and 167 Vahlen). But Virgil underlines the archaic style by closing the hexameter with a monosyllabic word:¹⁰ *aut intempesta silet nox* (I. 247). Virgil's allusion to well known verses of Ennius is often transparent. Thus in his variations on the epitaph of the old poet of Rudiae: *Volito vivos per ora virum* (*Epigr.* 18 Vahlen): Virgil desires poetic glory, and finally *virum volitare per ora* (*Georg.* III. 9). The same motif (already imitated by *Lucr.* IV. 38, *umbras inter vivos volitare*) appears also in *Georg.* IV. 226: *viva volare*.

The epic style carried a traditional weight. Yet Virgil, who had started his poetry under the influence of the *cantores Euphorionis*, never renounced neoteric methods. Let us examine for instance *Georg.* III. 338: *litoraue alcyonen resonant, acalanthida dumi*. Of the two birds

⁸ *Vergils Gedichte*, erklärt von Th. Ladewig, C. Schaper und P. Deuticke, I, *Buk.* und *Georg.*, 9. Aufl. bearbeitet von Paul Jahn (Berlin 1915), *in loc.*

⁹ *P. Vergilius Maro, Aeneis Buch VI*, erklärt von E. Norden (3rd ed., Berlin-Leipzig 1926), p. 439.

¹⁰ As in the ending of the light-hearted hexameter *Georg.* I. 181: *exiguus mus*; cf.

named in this line, the halcyon had already been taken up into Latin poetry,¹¹ but the other name, *acalanthis*, was apparently odd even in Greek, and belongs to erudite elements in the Alexandrine tradition. The word seems to be a variant form of the better known ἀκανθίς 'goldfinch, *Fringilla carduelis*' or 'linnet, *Fr. linaria*', which is attested in Aristophanes, Antoninus Liberalis and several lexica.¹²

Greek words play a role in poetry, following the long Greek tradition initiated by Homer and Hesiod with their euphonic catalogues of Nymphs and Nereids. The artistic verse of *Georg.* I. 437, with its hiatus and elision, *Glauco | et Panopeae et | Inoo Melicertae*, is, as Aulus Gellius XIII. 26. 3 says, an imitation of the modern poet Parthenius, but the Virgilian line is, according to the same scholar, "νεωτερικώτερος et quodam quasi ferumine inmisso fucator."

Greek words were necessary for every learned subject, but sometimes they are used simply for the sake of euphony. So with the quasi hapax *hyalus*:

eam circum Milesia vellera Nymphae
carpebant hyali saturo fucata colore (IV. 334-35).

Locks of wool "that had been dyed a deep glassy green,"¹³ i.e. *hyalino, vitreo, viridi, nymphis apto* (Servius *in loc.*), displayed a preciousness new in Latin poetry, one that was still imitated in later times by Ausonius and Prudentius (*Thes. ling. Lat.* VI. 3130).

The meanings of such euphonic words are sometimes difficult to determine. This is probably the case too with the passage in which the poet speaks of the most convenient herbs to plant around the beehives:

Haec circum casiae virides et olentia late
serpylla et graviter spirantis copia thymbrae
floreant, inriguumque bibant violaria fontem (*Georg.* IV. 30-32).

The Greek θύμβρα is usually considered to be 'savory' (*Satureia thymbra* for the botanists, *LSJ*). But Columella, trying to be more precise, and in a chapter which begins with a reference to this Virgilian text, enumerates (IX. 4. 6; cf. also section 2 of the same chapter) as the

Norden, *op. cit.* in the previous note, p. 440.

¹¹Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil, A critical survey* (Cambridge 1969), p. 237, for its identification.

¹²See F. R. Adrados and collaborators, *Diccionario griego-español*, I (Madrid 1980), p. 107, where we find for ἀκαλανθίς the translation "jilguero, *Fringilla carduelis*." Servius *in loc.* vacillates between *luscini* and *carduelis*, but the commentary attributed to Probus (Thilo-Hagen III, p. 383) prefers rightly *carduelis*.

¹³Translation by Gary B. Miles, *Virgil's Georgics, A new interpretation*, (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1980), p. 262.

most convenient herbs, in first place thyme, then, as the next best, *thymbra*, *serpyllum* and *origanum*. In the translation of E. Heffner (Loeb) these correspond to "Greek savory, wild thyme and marjoram." Then Columella adds as *tertiæ notae, sed adhuc generosae, marinus ros et nostras cunila, quam dixi* (same chapter, section 2) *satureiam*.¹⁴ In the last place come all the other herbs. In Columella's very extensive explanation, *thymbra* occupies a higher place than the Latin *satureia* 'savory', and evidently the learned agriculturalist used the word to describe another plant, which is confirmed by a passage in his poetic book on gardens (X. 233): *et satureia thymi referens thymbraeque saporem*. It seems probable therefore that Virgil referred to some plant, perhaps encountered in a Greek author, which he did not trouble to identify. The new *Oxford Latin Dictionary*¹⁵ has rightly reopened interpretation by proposing for *thymbra* "an aromatic plant, perh. Cretan thyme, *Corydanthus capitatus*."

But the beautiful Virgilian lines, sprinkled with euphonic Greek words, were in their details not intended to be a manual for real farmers.¹⁶

Madrid-Tübingen

¹⁴The *Servius auctus* (*in loc.*) identifies *thymbra* and *satureia*: *thymbre est, quam cunilam vocamus*.

¹⁵Last fascicle, ed. P. G. W. Glare, 1982, p. 1939.

¹⁶Cf. Brooks Otis, *Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1964), p. 145.

Invidia infelix: Vergil, Georgics 3. 37-39

M. W. DICKIE

Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum
 Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis
 Immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.

Much ink has been spent on the prologue to *Georgics* 3. The prospects for making any considerable new contribution to the understanding of that prologue are in consequence not good. A little new light can nonetheless perhaps be shed on the vexed question of the relationship of verses 37-39, the description of *invidia* in the *sedes scelerata* of the Underworld, to what goes before. Do these lines belong to the program of embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple or not?¹ In the immediately preceding passage (vv. 26-36) Vergil has described the chryselephantine reliefs that are to adorn the doors of the temple which he proposes to erect in Octavian's honor on the banks of the Mincius at Mantua, and the statues in Parian marble that are to stand in that edifice. In these lines Vergil makes it very clear that he is describing works of art that he will have made or set up: (1) *in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto / Gangaridum faciam* (vv. 26-27); (2) *addam urbes Asiae domitas* (v. 30); (3) *stabunt et Parii lapides*,

¹Part of the temple's decoration: E. Norden, "Vergilstudien," *Hermes* 28 (1893), pp. 520 ff.; T. E. Page, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis, Bucolica et Georgica* (London 1898), p. 295; apparently W. Richter, ed., *Vergil, Georgica* (Munich 1957), pp. 268 ff.; F. Klingner, *Virgil* (Zurich 1967), p. 282; V. Buchheit, *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgica* (Darmstadt 1972), p. 146. Not part of the temple's decoration but a bridge back to the literary discussion, in which Vergil proclaims or threatens the defeat of his literary rivals: K. Büchner, "P. Vergilius Maro," *RE* (1955), pp. 270 ff.; W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (Wiesbaden 1960), pp. 183 ff.; U. Fleischer, "Musentempel und Oktavianehrung des Vergil im Proömium zum dritten Buch der *Georgica*," *Hermes* 88 (1960), pp. 311-19. Probably not part of the temple decoration: L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969), pp. 170 ff.

spirantia signa (v. 34).² But in the case of the *Invidia*-vignette Vergil does not speak of having the scene made nor is there any mention of the material from which it is to be made nor of the form which it is to take. The principal reasons for thinking that in verses 37-39 Vergil is still describing the embellishments of the Octavian-temple are:

(1) these verses seem to belong to a discrete section of the prologue in which works of art are described and which ends at verse 40 with the poet's announcing that he will now resume the theme that he had promised in verses 1 ff. (*interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur*);

(2) the verb *metuet* is, like the preceding verbs *faciam*, *addam* and *stabunt*, in the future, a circumstance which leads the reader to think that it is still the decoration of the temple that is at issue. The main obstacle to taking the lines in this way is that it is hard to envisage where the scene is to be placed, what it could possibly look like and in what medium it is to be rendered.³

I shall attempt in this study to show that Vergil might well have envisaged such a scene rendered in relief or as free-standing statuary. It is not my wish, however, to suggest that he is describing a scene whose details he had clearly before his mind in their every particular, and whose physical relationship to the other embellishments of the temple he had worked out, but rather that he could in a general sort of way have conceived of such a scene. The elements of which the vignette is made up he could have seen in paintings, worked in relief or rendered in free-standing sculpture, and some he could have seen in combination with each other. I would argue that Vergil has in fact constructed the scene out of elements that he had himself seen; that is, his inspiration is more visual than literary, though the latter element will also have played a part. If the *Invidia*-vignette is part of the description of the temple, a second and distinct question arises, which will be dealt with in the second part of this study; namely, what the scene's meaning is within the program of artistic embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple.

The elements in the *invidia*-scene are the following: *Invidia* personified, portrayed in a state of fear and unhappiness; she is unhappy (*infelix*) as *invidi* and *phthoneroi* necessarily are by the nature of their condition, since the prosperity of others causes them anguish, and

²Compare the use of *facere* and *addere* at *Aen.* VIII. 626-728 in the description of the shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas: *fecerat* (vv. 628, 630); *addiderat* (v. 637); *hinc procul addit* (v. 666).

³So Wilkinson (above, note 1), p. 170.

since the sight of prosperity is everywhere visible;⁴ her fear is prompted by the sight of the Furies, the stern Cocytus, Ixion on his wheel with snakes wrapped about him and the rock that cannot be mastered (i.e. that of Sisyphus). We have then to imagine a scene in which a female figure cringes before the Furies; and in which the River Cocytus, Ixion bound to his wheel and wreathed in snakes, and Sisyphus pushing his rock are also represented. These are the elements for which antecedents in the visual arts are to be sought.

The evidence to be considered will be organized under the following categories: (1) literary evidence for representations of *Invidia/Phthonos*, (2) representations of *Invidia/Phthonos*, (3) literary descriptions of representations of the Underworld; (4) representations of the Impious in the Underworld; (5) the other evidence falling under none of the preceding categories.

(1) *Literary Evidence for Representations of Invidia/Phthonos*

The earliest piece of evidence which falls under this heading is [Demosthenes] 25. 52, where Aristogeiton, against whom the speech is directed, is said to exist in a world that is devoid of normal human relationships and to go around in the company of what painters portray alongside the impious (*asebeis*) in Hades; namely, Curse, Blasphemy, *Phthonos*, Discord and Strife. That is, there were paintings in which *Phthonos* amongst other evils was depicted in the Underworld in the company of the *asebeis*. By *asebeis* in contexts such as this one are meant in general all those who have committed certain sorts of grave crimes in their lifetime, but especially certain exemplary sinners such as Tantalus, Tityus, Sisyphus and, at least from Hellenistic times, Ixion. In the Underworld the *asebeis* were said to occupy the *χωρος ἀσεβῶν*

⁴The defining characteristic of *phthonos* or *invidia* was the distress that the good fortune of others causes the *phthoneros* or *invidus*: compare Pl. *Phil.* 50a, *Def.* 416; Arist. *Rhet.* 1386b18-20; Cic. *Tusc.* IV. 8. 17, *invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti*. *Invidia infelix* will then mean *Invidia* in her characteristic state of unhappiness. In Stat. *Silv.* II. 6 *Invidia infelix* (v. 69) becomes *tristis Rhamnusia* who surveys a youth in his beauty with *vultus torvus* (v. 73) and who tortures herself at the sight (*seseque videndo / torsit et invidia vv.* 76-77). The emaciation that *Livor* in his unhappiness causes himself is an *infelix macies* at Anth. Lat. 636. 11; at Sen. *Oct.* 485 *invidia* is *tristis*, and Ovid portrays his *Invidia* groaning, sighing and scowling (*Ingemuit vulumque una ac suspiria duxit, Metam.* II. 774). The rendering "accursed" preferred by most of those cited in note 1 above misses the point. Fleischer (p. 311) treats *infelix* as a content-free *epitheton ornans* and somewhat puzzlingly says that *felix* in the *Georgics* often has its original force of *fecundus*.

or in Latin the *sedes scelerata* or some variant on that.⁵ One or more of these paradigmatic *asebeis* were presumably represented in paintings of the type described by pseudo-Demosthenes as a means of identifying the exact locale of the scene.

As for the way in which *Phthonos* was depicted in such paintings, Plutarch in his discussion of the Evil Eye in the *Quaestiones Conviviales* says that painters make brave efforts to capture the evil that permeates even the bodies of those filled with *phthonos* when they sketch the countenance of *Phthonos* (*Mor.* 681e); that is, they attempt to convey the malice of *phthonos* through the facial expression of the *phthoneros* portrayed. Lucian, on the other hand, tells how *Phthonos* was represented in a particular painting, Apelles' famous *Calumny*. In it *Calumny* herself was portrayed led by a pale and ugly male figure, with a sharp look to his eyes and the appearance of one who has become emaciated as the result of a long disease; this Lucian suggests was *Phthonos* (*Cal.* 5).

(2) Representations of *Phthonos/Invidia*

Preeminent in this category, both because of its intrinsic interest and because it is the key to the identification of a number of figurines with similar features as representations of *Phthonos*, is the mosaic from Skala in Kephallenia, first published in 1962.⁶ Its subject matter is a naked youth with arms crossed over on his chest and his hands clasping his throat. He is being attacked by four large felines, two at his shoulders and two on his abdomen, which is disfigured by a terrible, vertical wound. Below the figure, an inscription which is an amalgam of dedication and warning announces that the figure represented is a likeness of *Phthonos*, drawn by the painter and rendered in stone by Krateros.⁷ The hands clasping the throat represent either the *phthoneros* in his unhappiness trying to do away with himself by strangulation, or his choking with pent-up emotion over the good fortune of others, or a combination of both of these notions. The gesture portrayed is exactly that

⁵[Pl.] *Axioch.* 371e-372a is the *locus classicus* on the *χώρος ἀσεβῶν*. It describes a place that contains the unfilled water jars of the Danaids, the thirst of Tantalus, the entreaties of Tityus ever being eaten and ever growing again, and the *πέτρος ἀνήμυτος* (*non exsuperabile saxum*, *Georg.* 3. 39) of Sisyphus. Compare *Luc. Ver. Hist.* 2. 23, 26; and for the *sedes scelerata*, *Tib.* 1. 3. 67, *Ov. Metam.* IV. 456; for the *sedes atque regio sceleratorum*, *Cic. Cluent.* 171; and for the *sceleratum limen*, *Verg. Aen.* VI. 563.

⁶The primary publication is by B. Kallipolitis, *Deltion* 17A (1961-62), pp. 1-31.

⁷ὦ Φθόνε, καλίστου τέχνης ὁλοῆς φρενὸς εἰκόνα γράφει
ζωγράφος ἦν Κράτερος θήκατο λαμπέην. (1-2)

attributed by Silius Italicus to the personification of *livor* seen by Scipio Africanus in the entrance-chamber to the Underworld (*hinc angens utraque manu sua guttura Livor*, XIII. 584), although it remains uncertain whether it represents, as it seems to in Silius, *Phthonos*' trying to kill himself in his misery or simply his choking involuntarily over the good fortune of others.⁸ The wound in his abdomen signifies the hurt that the *phthoneros* does himself when he looks with *phthonos* on the prosperity of others.⁹

The motif of choking and that of the self-inflicted wound are found either separately or in combination on a number of other representations of *Phthonos* rendered in a variety of media. I shall describe only a few of them.¹⁰ A Greco-Egyptian terra-cotta figurine published by P. Graindor has a man choking himself. He has a preternaturally long phallus that hangs down between his legs and comes to rest on an eye that lies at his feet.¹¹ The presence of the eye attacked by a phallus, a motif well-known from apotropaea against the Evil Eye, makes it all the more likely that what we have in this figurine is *Phthonos* choking. Both choking and wounding are present on a Janus-like terra-cotta figurine now in Leiden.¹² One side is a male figure choking himself and the other a female figure with a wound in the abdomen, which she pulls open with her hands. Choking and the emaciation characteristic of *phthoneros*¹³ are to be seen in a small bronze figurine, probably of Alexandrian origin, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.¹⁴ The mouth of the figurine is portrayed with lips drawn back over teeth in a *rictus* of impotent rage. Also worthy of note, since it helps identify the piece as an apotropaeon against the Evil Eye of the *phthoneros*, is the disproportionately large phallus, pierced

⁸For choking with *phthonos/invidia*, compare *Gal. Comment. in Hippocr. de nat. hom. praef.* 13; *Lib. Decl.* 30. 18, *Or.* 1. 211; *Eunap. V.S.* VI. 2. 12; *Ov. Metam.* II. 827 ff.

⁹For the wound of *phthonos/invidia*, compare *Pi. P.* 2. 89-91; *Bas. De Invid.* 1 = *PG* 31. 373; *Ioh. Chrys. Expos. in Ps.* 4. 12 = *PG* 55. 58; *ILAlg* 1971 = *Anth. Lat.* 1929, *in-bide, quid laceras illos quos crescere sentis? / tu tibi tortor, tu tecum tua vulnere portas.*

¹⁰A more complete account of figurines of this sort will appear in an article written by K. M. D. Dunbabin and the author.

¹¹P. Graindor, *Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Antwerp 1939), p. 131, no. 49, pl. XVIII.

¹²P. Leyenaar-Plaisier, *Les Terres cuites grecques et romaines. Catalogue de la Collection du Musée National des Antiquités à Leiden* (Leiden 1979), pp. 151 ff., no. 335, pl. 55.

¹³For wasting with *phthonos/invidia*, compare *Menan. fr.* 538. 6-7 Körte³; *Theocr.* 5. 12 ff., 6. 26 ff.; *AP* 11. 192, 193, *API* 16. 265, 266; *Liber. Decl.* 30. 40, *Or.* 25. 20; *Ov. Metam.* II. 780, 807; *Stat. Theb.* II. 14-16; *Cypr. De Zel. et Liv.* 7 = *PL* 4. 643.

¹⁴T. Schreiber, "Alexandrinische Sculpturen in Athen," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 10 (1885), p. 382, pl. X.

half-way down by a hole, through which a chain or wire will have run from which to hang a bell. Bells and more generally the sound of bronze were believed to ward off evil.¹⁵

(3) *Literary Descriptions of Representations of the Underworld*

Pausanias describes in some detail a painting of Odysseus' descent to Hades executed by Polygnotus for the *Lesche* of the Cnidians at Delphi (X. 28-32). That painting contained two features that are relevant here. It had a river with reeds growing in it, in which shadowy fish could be seen. On the river was a boat with a ferryman at its oars (X. 28. 1). This was the River Acheron and Charon. A more or less discrete section was devoted to the punishments undergone by famous sinners (X. 31. 11-12). There was Sisyphus trying to push a boulder up a steep bank, those who had disdained the Eleusinian Mysteries trying to fill pitchers and Tantalus suffering the ills that Homer had described him suffering (*Od.* XI. 582-92), and in addition having a rock poised over his head.

(4) *Representations of the Impious in the Underworld*

In vase paintings of the Underworld the sinner most frequently represented both in Attic black-figure and South Italian is Sisyphus.¹⁶ Tantalus is found twice on South Italian vases¹⁷ and Ixion not at all, although he is depicted tied to his wheel on the neck of a volute krater from Ruvo, which has on its body an Underworld scene with women carrying pitchers.¹⁸ Ixion is first found in the company of the other sinners in the Underworld on a number of sarcophagi and monumental tombs from the High Roman Empire.¹⁹

(5) *Miscellanea*

(a) Ixion, who is normally represented simply bound to his wheel by

¹⁵For bells driving off the Evil Eye, compare Ioh. Chrys. *In Ep. 1 ad Cor. Hom.* 49. 7 = PG 61. 105 ff., and for bronze driving off the spirits of the dead, Ov. *Fast.* 5. 441 ff.

¹⁶On Sisyphus in black-figure, see W. Felten, *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jh. v. Chr.* (Munich 1975), pp. 23-25, pls. 10, 12. In south Italian vase painting he is portrayed rolling his stone on three volute kraters, attended by one, two or three Erinyes: see M. Pansi, *Rappresentazioni dell' Oltretomba nella Ceramica Apula* (Rome 1977), pls. I, III and V; K. Schauenberg, "Die Totengötter in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 73 (1958), p. 50, note 16.

¹⁷See B. Andreae, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst* (Heidelberg 1963), p. 59.

¹⁸Leningrad St. 424; Pansi (above, note 16), pl. VIII.

¹⁹See D. P. Dimitrov, "Römisches Relief im Museum zu Stara-Zagora (Bulgarien)

fetters, is in a Campanian amphora of the fourth-century B.C. from Cumae depicted bound to a wheel by snakes, which are entwined about his body and of which two bite or strike at his shoulders.²⁰ Directly below the wheel there is an Erinys holding a torch. On either side of the Erinys stand Hermes and Hephaestus, who look up at the wheel, which is being set in motion by two winged women, who must represent *Nephelai* or *Aurai*. There is no room for doubt that Ixion's punishment is taking place in the upper air. (b) On a metope from the archaic temple at Foce del Sele near Paestum there is a figure entwined by a snake that strikes at his head. This may well be Ixion. On adjacent metopes are portrayed the punishments or sins of Tityus, Sisyphus and Tantalus.²¹ (c) Amongst the scenes that on the Shield of Aeneas depict Rome's rise to world empire is a panel portraying the Underworld. Part of it is devoted to the *sedes scelerata* and part to the *sedes piorum*. In the *sedes scelerata* there is Catiline hanging from a beetling cliff and trembling before the Furies, while amongst the *pii* Cato is to be seen giving judgment:

hinc procul addit
Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem. (*Aen.* VIII. 666-70)

The discussion may best begin with the Underworld-scene on the Shield of Aeneas, since it is part of the decoration that embellishes an imaginary object and since in its details it has a good deal in common with the *Invidia*-vignette in the *Georgics*. What both scenes have in common is a figure who is the main focus of attention portrayed trembling before the Furies, while alongside that figure some of the famous sinners are to be seen undergoing their punishments. The similarity of the scenes tells in favor of the *Invidia*-vignette's being part of the program of embellishment of the Octavian-temple, but it does not show that the scene has any real antecedents amongst the visual arts. The works of art catalogued above, on the other hand, suggest that Vergil has been influenced by what he has seen. It is likely that an educated Roman of Vergil's time would have seen all of the elements that make up the scene. The element that most persuasively argues for inspiration from the visual arts is the use of the image of Ixion on his wheel

mit der Darstellung des Ixion und Tantalos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1937), pp. 69-75.

²⁰E. Simon, "Ixion und die Schlange," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts* 43 (1955), p. 17, pl. 7.

²¹For this reconstruction, see E. Simon, "Die vier Büsser von Foce del Sele," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 82 (1967), pp. 275-95.

entwined by snakes, an image which we otherwise only know from the volute krater from Cumae. In the literary tradition snakes play no part in the punishment that he had seen represented in some work of art.

There is one other significant similarity between the *Invidia*-scene and a work of art. In paintings of the sort described at [Demosthenes] 25. 52 *Phthonos* is portrayed in the Underworld in the company of the *asebeis* just as in the *Georgics* *Invidia infelix* is found alongside the *impii* in the Underworld. There are, however, major differences. *Phthonos* is not alone in the pseudo-Demosthenic scene but is one of a number of personified ills. Nor are these personifications said to be cringing before the Furies. They seem to inhabit this part of the Underworld because it is a suitable home for them, just as at *Aeneid* VI 273-89 and at XIII. 579-87 of Silius Italicus' *Punica* some of the ills that beset mankind, *Livor* being of their number in the *Punica*, have their quarters in the entrance-hall to the Underworld for no other reason than that they are ills. Nonetheless paintings of the sort described by pseudo-Demosthenes could have contributed to Vergil's inspiration here.

There is a case then for thinking that some of the details of the scene that Vergil describes owe something to the visual arts. What is a good deal more certain is that the vocabulary rendering that scene visually lay at hand and that the elements were in the main familiar ones. The punishment of the famous sinners was a well-known theme, even though the transfer of Ixion's punishment from the upper air to the *sedes scelerata* may not yet have been visually familiar and may reflect recondite Alexandrian learning.²² *Invidia*, as we have seen, could have been rendered in a number of ways, all of which would have made her identity clear by presenting the traditional outward signs of her unhappiness. That is, she would have been portrayed as an emaciated female figure with an unhappy mien or as a woman choking herself or inflicting some terrible wound on herself.

²²Vergil will as a *doctus poeta* have been fully aware that in placing Ixion in the Underworld he was following a variant tradition, which may have had its origins in a learned Hellenistic discussion of some problematic passage in an earlier author. At Ap. Rh. *Arg.* III. 61-63 Hera declares that even if Jason were to rescue Ixion from his bronze bonds in Hades, she would still save him. In having Hera, who, if anyone, should be concerned about the nature of Ixion's punishment and his whereabouts, speak of Ixion in Hades, Apollonius gives emphasis to his preference for this form of the story. The *zetema* may have been a passage such as Pi. O. I. 59-60 (ἔχει δ' ἀπάλαμον βιον τοῦτον ἐμπεδόμοχθον / μετὰ τριῶν τέταρτον πόνον) where the punishment of Tantalus is referred to allusively and enigmatically as "the fourth toil besides the three." Σ A(C)DEHQ in Pi. O. I. 97a Dr. gives a number of solutions to this problem, of which the first is that Tantalus was the fourth to be punished in Hades with Sisyphus, Tityus and Ixion.

The run of the passage gives the impression at a first reading that what Vergil has in mind in describing the scene is free-standing statuary. He has just described a group of statues that comprises the ancestors of the *gens Iulia* and Apollo, and the reader naturally assumes that the next vignette is to be rendered in the same way, and further that some contrast is intended between the groups. However bizarre such an arrangement may sound, it should be borne in mind that the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, whose construction will have been in progress or perhaps even completed when these lines were written, and which is in some measure the inspiration for Vergil's Octavian-temple, had between the columns of its portico statues representing the daughters of Danaus and their father, who was depicted with a drawn sword (Prop. II. 31. 3-4; Ov. *Trist.* III. 1. 61-62).²³ The possibility of embellishing a temple with a large and complex group of statues is a very real one. The significance of the Danaids within the program of decoration for the Temple of Apollo is unclear, but it is unlikely, in view of the way in which they are conceived in Augustan poetry as sinners condemned to carry out a never-ending task in the Underworld, that they represent something positive.²⁴

The meaning of the *Invidia*-scene has basically been explained in two ways. It has been taken either to refer to the defeat of Octavian's political enemies and in particular Antony,²⁵ or to the defeat, actual or wished for, of Vergil's literary rivals,²⁶ or to both these groups.²⁷ In light of the apparent context of the scene, an account of the embellishments of a temple in honor of Octavian, literary *invidia* is not very plausible. If it is Octavian's defeat of Antony that is being celebrated, then it has been done in a very allusive fashion, which may in the circumstances be appropriate. In what follows I shall suggest an interpretation that gives a more general application to *invidia*'s defeat and one

²³On the influence of the Apollo-temple on the Octavian-temple, see D. L. Drews, "Virgil's Marble Temple: *Georgics* III: 10-39," *Classical Quarterly* 18 (1924), pp. 194-202.

²⁴For the Danaids in the Underworld, compare [Pl.] *Axioch.* 372e; Luc. *Tim.* 18, *Herm.* 61, *Dial. Mort.* 11. 4; Tib. I. 3. 79; Hor. *Carm.* III. 11. 23-28. I remain unpersuaded by Eva Keuls, *The Water-Carriers in Hades* (Amsterdam 1974), that it was only with the appearance of the Danaids on the portico of the Apollo-temple that the water-carriers in underworld-scenes were identified with the Danaids.

²⁵Of those cited in note 1, so Norden, p. 521; Page, p. 295; Richter, p. 268; Klingner, p. 282 n. 3; Buchheit, p. 146.

²⁶So Büchner, pp. 270 ff.; Wimmel, pp. 183 ff.; and Fleischer, pp. 311-19 (all as in note 1 above). Büchner's objection that *invidia* is too weak a term for the enmity of the civil war is misconceived, since *invidia* is exactly the term that would be used to characterize political opposition both as illegitimate and dishonorably motivated.

²⁷Wilkinson, pp. 170 ff.

that has parallels in encomia of other emperors and that may go back to what was said in panegyrics composed to celebrate Alexander's achievements.

It has been assumed rather than argued that the scene represents *Invidia's* defeat. The presence of *Invidia* in the Underworld does not of itself signify defeat, not even if she is represented amongst the *impii* in the *sedes scelerata*. All that the presence of *Invidia* in the Underworld *per se* need mean is that the Underworld is a suitable home for such a force for evil. What makes it overwhelmingly likely that *Invidia's* defeat is intended is that she is portrayed in Hades cringing before the Furies as a sinner facing never-ending punishment. She is destined to be kept there irrevocably. That is what the *amnis severus Cocyti* represents.

It is nonetheless a most unusual and puzzling way of representing the defeat of *Invidia* and one for which parallels are not easily come by. The defeat of *invidia* or *phthonos* is a not uncommon topic, but it is not with one exception described in terms of relegation to the Underworld, but rather as a defeat or yielding,²⁸ and, if the idea is represented figuratively, as *Phthonos/Invidia* lying on the ground, broken, gasping or paralyzed. Thus Paul the Silentiary in his *Ecphrasis Hagiae Sophiae* described *Phthonos* crashing broken to the ground and making a deep impression in the dust as he lies there (161-63).²⁹ What is meant by the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* is that the achievements of the object of *Phthonos/Invidia's* ill-will are so great that *Phthonos/Invidia* is defeated by their magnitude and lapses into acquiescence or helplessness. As such, the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* belongs to the larger topic of what is too great or too brilliant for *phthonos/invidia* to overcome.³⁰ It is a topic found mainly in encomia, although it is also used for apotropaic purposes.

There is only one other instance known to me of the relegation of *Phthonos/Invidia* to the Underworld besides that in the *Georgics*. In Philo Iudaeus' *Legatio ad Gaium* Gaius' adviser Macro gives Gaius a lecture on the duties of an emperor. He advises Gaius to see to it that all the good land is farmed and that different nations freely and eagerly exchange their goods by sea, a situation which Macro says has in fact

²⁸Phil. Iud. *de agricult.* 112; Sall. *Jug.* 10. 2; Iustin. I. 2. 5; Sen. *Oct.* 485-86.

²⁹Compare Eunap. *V.S.* X. 5. 5; A. Beschtaouch, "Echec à l'envieux d'après une inscription métrique sur mosaïque découverte dans les thermes à Sullectum en Tunisie," *Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei* 23 (1968), p. 61 *nisibus hic nostris prostratus labor anhelat*.

³⁰Compare Dem. 3. 24; *AP* IX. 814; Plut. *Mor.* 538a-b; Dio Cass. LVI. 35. 5-6; Ov.

prevailed since the Augusti began to rule because under them *phthonos* has been especially curbed. They have, he says, driven all that was harmful and which formerly flourished beyond the furthest boundaries of the earth and into the hidden nooks of Tartarus, and have brought back into the center of things all that is good (148 ff.). The Julio-Claudians are then credited with having created free and easy commercial intercourse amongst the nations by curbing and driving out *phthonos*; that is, the grudging feelings that might have inhibited commerce have been extinguished. It is not at all likely that Vergil had in mind the extinguishing of *phthonos* amongst the nations of the empire, but the Philo passage is evidence that the routing of *Phthonos/Invidia* is a topic used in praising the emperor. In spite of Philo, the image of *Invidia* in the Underworld is an unusual one. It may be that the exigencies of portraying *Invidia*'s defeat visually have led Vergil to adopt the image and to forsake the conventional imagery for that notion.

In encomia of emperors the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* is a well attested topic. It generally takes the form of an assertion that the emperor has by the magnitude of his deeds transcended *phthonos/invidia* in his own lifetime; that is, his achievements are so great that, unlike other men who have to wait for death to free them from *phthonos/invidia*, he while still alive is unaffected by *phthonos/invidia*'s assaults. Horace makes use of the topic in the *Letter to Augustus*: Romulus, Dionysus, Castor and Pollux, and Hercules had met with *invidia* in their lifetime, but Augustus is freely honored while still alive and accorded his due in recognition (*Ep.* II. 1. 5-19). Tiberius is reported by Dio Cassius to have said in his funeral oration over Augustus that he was not afraid of arousing *phthonos* by speaking of the greatness of Augustus' *arete* since he knew that his audience felt no *phthonos* at that *arete*, but rather rejoiced in it, because they were convinced that they had benefited from it (LVI. 35. 5-6). Tacitus has Seneca tell Nero that in his greatness he is beyond the reach of *invidia*, whereas he (Seneca), because he is in no such position, must tread more carefully (*Ann.* XIV. 54). Seneca is also portrayed in the *Octavia* as telling Nero that *invidia* has retired defeated before him and that all are joined in willing assent to his rule ([Sen.] *Oct.* 485-86). The topic is still in use in early Byzantium. Paul the Silentiary in the *Ecphrasis Hagiae Sophiae* declares that not only has Justinian conquered the barbarian and brought him under Rome's rule, but that black *Phthonos* has bowed and fallen to the ground before him (157-63). Although not strictly praise of an emperor, Claudian's encomium of Stilicho is also relevant here: Stilicho has transcended what is human and so stands

like the gods beyond the limits that *invidia* can reach (*de cons. Stil.* 3. 36-44).

To return to the *Georgics*, there are a number of advantages in construing the *Invidia*-scene as an instance of the topic of *phthonos/invidia* transcended and taking it to be a statement about the magnitude of Octavian's achievements: (1) it fits the theme of the glorification of Octavian, which is the subject-matter of the temple's embellishments, rather better than confining the defeat of *Invidia* to the defeat of Octavian's political enemies; (2) it is a conventional topic of praise; (3) it is a topic that is associated with praise of Alexander as world-conqueror, which is how Octavian is to be presented in the reliefs of the temple-doors and in the decoration of the theater's curtains.

Eduard Norden demonstrated many years ago that the encomium of Augustus as world-conqueror at *Aeneid* VI. 792-807 has as its model the panegyrics in which Alexander's achievements as world-conqueror were celebrated.³¹ In conquering from north to south and from east to west his accomplishments surpassed in their extent the travels of Dionysus and Hercules. It was in exactly these terms that Alexander was praised.³² Vinzenz Buchheit has argued that the subjects which decorate the curtains of the theater and the temple-doors make up a catalogue of conquests typical of the Alexander-panegyric, and that Vergil is therefore portraying Octavian as the new Alexander.³³ Octavian's conquests extend from the Britanni, who appear on the theater-curtains (v. 25), to the billowing Nile (vv. 28 ff.), and from the Indians (v. 27) to the inhabitants of the shores of the Atlantic (vv. 32 ff.); that is, from north to south and from east to west. There is no room for doubt that Octavian is presented here as world-conqueror, while the references to the Nile and to the Indians suggest that Octavian's deeds are being set against those of Alexander and would have been so understood.³⁴

There is evidence that not only were Alexander's conquests celebrated as being greater than those of Hercules and Dionysus but that they were said to be so great as to enable Alexander to attain divine status in his lifetime, an achievement that had eluded Hercules and

³¹"Ein Panegyricus auf Augustus in Vergils Aeneis," *Rheinisches Museum* 54 (1899), pp. 466-82.

³²Compare Arr. *Anab.* IV. 8. 2-3; Menan. *Rhet.* 388. 6-9; Curt. VIII. 5. 8.

³³*Der Anspruch des Dichters* (above, note 1), pp. 118-45.

³⁴The evidence for Alexander as model for Octavian/Augustus is conveniently presented and analyzed by D. Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," *Gymnasium* 76 (1964), pp. 430-56.

Dionysus, whose merits had not been recognized by deification until after their deaths because of the *phthonos/invidia* that had affected them while alive. In the *Epistle to Augustus* Horace's praise of Augustus follows that pattern: Romulus, Dionysus, and Castor and Pollux were only after their deaths received into the company of the divine; in their lifetime they complained that their civilizing deeds had not met with a due reward from their fellows; Hercules too found out that *invidia* was only to be conquered by death; Augustus, on the other hand, is given his due in his lifetime and is worshipped while he is still among us (vv. 5-17). A. R. Bellinger noticed that these lines had much in common with a passage in Arrian and another in Curtius Rufus in which the efforts of certain Greeks to curry favor with Alexander by having him treated as a god are described.³⁵ Bellinger drew the conclusion that Horace, Arrian and Curtius Rufus had a common source — a panegyric by Choerilus.

Arrian's version of the story is that Alexander had neglected to sacrifice to Dionysus on a day that the Macedonians held sacred to that god and had instead given a banquet in honor of the Dioskouroi. As the drinking progressed, some flatterers had said that Polydeuces and Castor were not worthy to be compared to Alexander. They had not even held back from comparing Alexander with Heracles, to the latter's disadvantage. They had made the further point that *phthonos* had stood in the way of the Dioskouroi's and Heracles' being given the honors that they deserved to receive from their contemporaries (*Anab.* IV. 8. 2-4). Clitus took exception to this, aroused Alexander's anger and was killed (IV. 8. 4-9).

Curtius' version is fuller and makes explicit what is only implicit at best in Arrian.³⁶ According to Curtius, an Argive poet Agis, and a Sicilian called Cleon, had filled Alexander's head with the idea that he belonged among the gods and that Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi would give way before the new divinity. This had led Alexander to command that a splendid symposium should be held on a festal day to which not only the Macedonian and Greek leaders were to be invited but also the nobility of the enemy. After being present for only a short time the king left the symposium and by pre-arrangement

³⁵"The Immortality of Alexander and Augustus," *Yale Classical Studies* 15 (1957), pp. 93-100. Bellinger is followed by Ernst Doblhofer, *Die Augustuspanegyrik des Horaz in formalhistorischer Sicht* (Heidelberg 1966), pp. 129-37.

³⁶The arguments that Curtius records for and against the deification of Alexander are distributed over two separate occasions in Arrian, one being the banquet at which Clitus is killed, while the other is a banquet at which Callisthenes opposes Anaxarchos' attempt to have those present do obeisance to Alexander (*Anab.* IV. 9. 7 - 12. 7).

Cleon began to speak in his praise and to rehearse his services, services for which the only adequate recompense was their publicly recognizing that they knew that he was a god. Cleon went on to say that the Persians were not only pious in worshipping their kings as gods but wise also, since the majesty of power was a guarantee of safety. Heracles and Dionysus had not been declared gods until they had conquered the *invidia* of their contemporaries. He would therefore, even if others hesitated, do obeisance to Alexander when he entered (VIII. 5. 8-12). On this occasion it is the philosopher Callisthenes who opposes the suggestion (VIII. 5. 13-20).

The line of reasoning that lies behind both versions should take something like the following form, if spelled out in full: Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi were inferior to Alexander; that is to be seen in their only being able to conquer the *phthonos/invidia* of their contemporaries by death, and in their only being deified after their deaths. *Phthonos/invidia* should not stand in the way of Alexander's being honored as a god in his own lifetime. This amounts almost exactly to what is said in praise of Augustus by Horace in the *Letter to Augustus* with the difference that what is expressed as advice in Arrian and Curtius is translated into a statement of fact by Horace. We may infer that there was extant in antiquity a panegyric of Alexander in which it was either argued that unlike Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi, he should be accorded a just reward for his great accomplishments and be worshipped as a god while still alive, and not be deprived of that honor as they had been by *phthonos/invidia*, or in which it was simply asserted that Alexander had, unlike the others, transcended *phthonos/invidia* in his lifetime because of the magnitude of his achievements, and had been given by his contemporaries the measure of honor that was his due.

The existence of panegyrics in which Alexander was said to have transcended *phthonos/invidia* is indicated by Plutarch's adducing Cyrus and Alexander as examples of men whose successes were so great as to extinguish *phthonos*. What Plutarch says is, that since Alexander and Cyrus were conquerors and lords of all, it was not likely that men should feel *phthonos* towards them, for just as the sun obliterates all shadows below it, so too does *phthonos* diminish and retreat when it is confronted by successes of great magnitude that tower above it (*Mor.* 538 a-b).³⁷ We know that encomia of both Alexander and Cyrus were

³⁷What Plutarch says here agrees with what is said about *phthonos* at Arist. *Rhet.* 1388a6-13, that men feel *phthonos* towards those who are close to them in time, place, age and repute and that they feel no rivalry for those who were alive ten thousand years ago, nor for those who are yet to be, nor for the dead, nor for those who are at the Pil-

school exercises,³⁸ which makes it a fairly safe inference that Alexander's and Cyrus' being superior to *phthonos* were topics in such exercises.

In Curtius to attain divine status in one's lifetime is synonymous with transcending the *invidia* of one's contemporaries. This is spelled out in Claudian's *de consulatu Stilichonis*: Stilicho's *virtus* has left behind human measure and the bounds of *invidia*, for no one could feel *livor* because the stars never perish, or because Juppiter has for so long been lord of heaven, or because Apollo knows everything (3. 39-42). In Horace, Augustus' being worshipped as a *divus praesens* in contrast to Hercules, Dionysus, Romulus and the Dioskouroi who did not transcend *invidia* in their lifetime, is another instance of the conceit. The idea that to become divine in one's lifetime one must conquer *phthonos/invidia* may be relevant to the program of embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple. In the center of that temple is to be placed a statue of Octavian (*in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit*, v. 16), its doors are to be adorned with reliefs depicting Octavian's activities as world-conqueror, and there is to be a group of statues of Octavian's Juppiter-descended ancestors and Apollo, his patron deity and the founder of his ancestors' city, Troy (vv. 35 ff.). Sacrifices and Greek and Roman games are to be held in his honor (vv. 18-25). In short, he is to be worshipped as a present god on earth. The reliefs on the temple-doors will then represent the achievements in virtue of which Octavian has attained the status of *divus praesens*, while his descent from Juppiter is attested by the statues of his Juppiter-born ancestors. He is in this respect like Hercules, Dionysus, Castor and Pollux, and Alexander, who are all the progeny of Zeus.³⁹ In view then of the fact that Octavian is to be worshipped as a god on earth and that his temple is to be embellished with evidence of the activities that have brought him to this state, it would be entirely in keeping with this program of decoration that his transcending of *invidia* should be symbolically represented.

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lars of Heracles, nor for those who greatly surpass oneself or whom one greatly surpasses.

³⁸Alexander: Cic. *de Or.* II. 84. 341, *de Fin.* II. 116; Auct. *ad Her.* 4. 31; Cyrus: Cic. *de Fin.* II. 116.

³⁹On the emperor's transcending other men in virtue of his divine ancestry as a topic of praise, compare Menan. *Rhet.* 370. 21-28, and for the topic inverted, compare Plin. *Panegy.* 14. 2.

Horace *Epode* 9: Some New Interpretations¹

FRANCIS CAIRNS

I. Introduction

It is inevitable that any Augustan poem associated with the battle of Actium will give rise to a great deal of scholarly comment; and the volume of comment will be greater when the poem's internal importance in its book is guaranteed by its central position. But no other "Actium" poem has created so much controversy as the ninth epode. Scholars have begun with the supposition that Horace is attempting in it to give an account of the battle of Actium and its aftermath. They have then been led by the vagueness of this supposed account to adopt a variety of hypotheses: Horace wrote the epode before the actual battle; or when only its early stages had taken place; he wrote it after the battle; he wrote it when the battle was just over and before details of the flight of Antonius were known; he was present at the battle; he was not present at the battle, but heard the news, or some part of it, at Rome, and composed the epode there; perhaps under these last circumstances he made some of the details up; or he wrote different parts of the epode at different times; or he wrote it with "prophetic vision." These permutations, which have been propounded over the last hundred or so years, are recorded by Wistrand; and they are offered in detailed form in the many papers and commentaries upon the epode which have appeared both before and after that pamphlet.²

¹I am much indebted to Mr. I. M. LeM. DuQuesnay for comments on this paper and additional information. His assent to its conclusions should not be assumed.

²Full bibliographical information can be found in: Erik Wistrand, *Horace's Ninth Epode and its Historical Background* (Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia VIII, Göteborg 1958); Gabriele Draeger and Monika Angermann, *Horaz-Bibliographie, seit 1950 bis zum Horatium* (Berlin 1975); Walter Kissel, "Horaz 1936-1975: Eine Gesamtbibliographie," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II. 31. 3, *Principat: Sprache und*

Only one attempt seems to have been made to bypass this welter of hypotheses. Emphasizing that *Epode* 9 is a poem and not a news bulletin, Williams argued vigorously against the idea that "the real question to be asked is: 'When was the poem written?'" (p. 215).³ Instead Williams looked in it for recognizable literary techniques and conventions, and so came to realize that the celebration proposed at the beginning of the epode is the one which is actually seen taking place at its end. In this way he decided that the dramatic, but of course not necessarily the real, date of the epode lies after Actium but before the conquest of Egypt and Octavianus' subsequent triumph.

This general approach to the epode must surely be correct; and the poem's relationship to the early Greek symposiastic tradition warns us not to look in it for detailed historical information.⁴ Rather, the inspiration for it lies in Greek lyric summaries of epic narratives, where the criteria for choice of material are basically the same as in Hellenistic poetry: sensory vividness and picturesqueness, conceptual grotesquerie, emotional, moral and psychological interest, learning and antiquarianism,⁵ exactly as Propertius IV. 6, another "Actium" poem central to its book and with a more complex Greek background, prefers to relate "myths" about the battle rather than to follow the detailed strategy and tactics of the campaign.⁶

In this study I wish to offer new interpretations of various aspects of *Epode* 9. First the overall choice of material in verses 7-20 — the section of the epode dealing with recent Roman history — will be examined. Then Horace's treatment of "Africanus" (v. 25) will be

Literatur, ed. Wolfgang Haase, (Berlin-New York 1981), pp. 1472 ff.; and Aldo Setaioli, "Gli 'Epodi' di Orazio nella critica del 1937 al 1972," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* II. 31. 3, *Principat: Sprache und Literatur*, ed. Wolfgang Haase, (Berlin-New York 1981), pp. 1716-1732. I have referred only to work relevant to specific points. Professor M. J. McGann's forthcoming paper on *Epode* 9, which approaches it from a different point of view, was made available to me at an early stage in my preparation of this paper.

³Gordon Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968), pp. 212 ff.

⁴For this approach see also Christfried Bartels, "Die neunte Epode des Horaz als sympotisches Gedicht," *Hermes* 101 (1973), pp. 282-313.

⁵See Francis Cairns, *Tibullus: a Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge 1979), Ch. 1.

⁶In "Properzio 4, 6: manierismo ellenistico e classicismo augusteo," to appear in the *Atti of the Colloquium Propertianum (tertium)* 1981, a paper delivered by me at the Colloquium Propertianum in Assisi in May 1981, I adumbrated an interpretation of Propertius IV. 6 which stresses this aspect of it. A fuller canonical English version will appear in a volume forthcoming from the Cambridge University Press, dedicated to poetry and politics in the Augustan Age, edited by Prof. D. A. West and Prof. A. J. Woodman.

discussed, and new interpretations will be offered both of vv. 27-32 and of *sinistrorsum* in v. 20. In conclusion some observations will be made on Horace's poetic techniques in *Epode* 9.

II. Recent History: verses 7-20

In vv. 7-20 Horace refers first to his earlier celebration of the defeat of Sex. Pompeius at Naulochus in 35 B.C. (vv. 7-10). There is an indirect allusion to the battle of Actium in the word *actus* (v. 7). This is a piece of creative etymologizing of a type common in Augustan poetry⁷ and it is intended to reinforce (cf. *ut nuper*, v. 7) the analogies between the two sea-battles — with Pompeius and with Antonius — and, by implication, the analogous character of these two adversaries of Octavianus. Horace mocks Pompeius' blasphemous and, as his defeat at sea showed, false self-association with Neptune in *Neptunius...dux* (vv. 7 ff.), linking it to his supposed threat, known to be equally vain and implied to be equally blasphemous, that he would place upon Rome the chains which he had removed from his own slaves (vv. 9 ff.). The concept of slavery is used as a bridge to introduce the forces more recently opposed to Octavianus. The Romans among these, Horace claims, have voluntarily made themselves slaves to a woman, Cleopatra, the present archenemy of Rome (v. 12) and to her eunuchs (vv. 13 ff., esp. *servire*). As a contrast with these servile Romans opposing Octavianus, Horace introduces the Galatians of Amyntas, who deserted to Octavianus before Actium (vv. 17 ff.). By calling the Galatians *Galli* and not *Galatae* or *Gallograeci*, Horace first of all is being precise in his ethnography by specifying that the Galatians originated in Gallic tribes who settled in Asia Minor,⁸ and thus he is demonstrating *doctrina* of the type generally affected by Hellenistic and Augustan poets.⁹ He is also, by combining this term with *Caesarem* (v. 18), making a political point through an allusion to Julius Caesar's conquest of Gaul and to the subsequent attachment of the Gauls to his, and hence to Octavianus's, *clientela*.¹⁰ Horace is suggesting that the Galatians are not deserters betraying their cause but are really virtuous Caesarians who are returning to their true and natural allegiance. They are doing so bravely in a situation of danger, one in which some servile Roman citizens remained obedient to Cleopatra and her eunuchs, and in which Cleopatra's cowardly Egyptian fleet lurks in port (vv. 19 ff.).

⁷Cf. Cairns (above, note 5), Ch. 4.

⁸Cf. *RE* s.v. *Galatia*, pp. 522 ff.; *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. *Galatia*.

⁹On geography and ethnology as learned Alexandrian interests, cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford 1972), pp. 520 ff.

The factual element in vv. 7-20 is minor; and although vv. 11-20 relate to the battle of Actium, they cannot be said to "describe" any part of it. Horace, as befits the heir of Callimachus in his *Iambi*, and as is typical of Augustan poets, is highly moral in his emphasis: boastful Sex. Pompeius; his flight (v. 8); his threat (vv. 9 ff.); the contrast between slaves and free (vv. 10, 11 ff.); treachery (*perfidis*, v. 10); a woman and her eunuchs (vv. 12-14); bravery (vv. 17 ff.) and cowardice (vv. 19 ff.). Hellenistic sensory interest is also prominent:¹¹ the grotesque premature wrinkles of the Egyptian eunuchs; the sun glinting on the alien mosquito net amid the Roman standards; and the war cry of the Galatians.

Horace is not simply following a literary course here; he has chosen this poetic technique because it is apt for his main propaganda purpose — to disguise as far as possible the civil element of the Actian war, and indeed of the war with Pompeius, and to represent the first as a war against slaves and the second as a war against foreigners. This was of course the official Augustan position:

Mare pacavi a praedonibus. Eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere millia...tradidi (*Res Gestae* 25);

Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci...antea Siciliam et Sardiniam occupatas bello servili reciperavi...(*ibid.*, 27).

Note too the deliberate avoidance of Antonius' name in the account of the Actian war in *Res Gestae* 24 and 25.

III. Past History: Africanus

The train of thought is abruptly broken at v. 21 with the invocation *Io Triumphe*, which is repeated at v. 23. The two invocations imply the successful conclusion of the second war, as of the first, and they modulate in v. 23 into reminiscences of Rome's past triumphs; Octavianus will be a greater *triumphator* than C. Marius, from whom Julius Caesar inherited his political platform. He is greater also than "Africanus."

The identification of Africanus as the elder Scipio is not unquestioned¹² and, as Bentley saw long ago, there is some conflation here of the elder Scipio, who defeated Hannibal, and the younger Scipio, who destroyed Carthage. Horace will naturally not himself have been confused about the historical facts. He simply wanted to adopt a peculiarly

¹⁰On the general principle, cf. *RE* s.v. *Clientes*, pp. 26 ff.

¹¹Cf. Cairns (above, note 5) "General Index" s.v. *sensory emphasis*.

¹²On the controversy, cf. Bartels (above, note 4), p. 300.

Roman way of looking at men of the same family by conflating the pair.¹³ But the elder Africanus is the more prominent in Horace's mind. A similar proceeding on Horace's part in *Odes* IV. 8. 13-20 has caused unnecessary doubts about the genuineness of some lines:¹⁴

non incisa notis marmora publicis,
per quae spiritus et vita redivit bonis
post mortem ducibus, non celeres fugae
relictæque retrorsum Hannibalis minae,
non incendia Carthaginis impiae
eius, qui domita nomen ab Africa
lucratus rediit, clarius indicant
laudes quem Calabrae Pierides.

The second and third Punic Wars are assimilated here as well as the two Scipiones, and in this way the eventual destruction of Carthage is associated by implication with the elder Scipio rather than the younger. Accordingly, Horace is able to identify the poetic celebration by Ennius of the elder Scipio as the lasting reason for his fame; his tomb, possibly a subject of controversy,¹⁵ and its inscription, are relegated to a lower place in preserving his reputation, in accordance with the conventional assertion that poetry outlives monuments.¹⁶ One may best compare Statius, *Silvae* II. 7. 72, where Lucan's *Pharsalia* is described as *Pompeio sepulchrum*.¹⁷ It is of particular interest that Horace appears to be referring again at *Epode* 9. 26 to the same controversy over Scipio's tomb, and again by implication to Ennius' poem, which is once more represented as the true lasting memorial of Scipio Africanus. The implication is achieved by mention of Africanus' *virtus* (*Epode* 9. 26); this made him the subject of Ennius' poem and assured that his fame outlasted Carthage. Another Scipionic conflation can be seen at *Odes* II. 12. 1-4, discussed below.

This interpretation, which is an old but sound one (cf. Bentley *ad loc.*), and the new interpretation, which will be offered of vv. 27 ff., are mutually supportive; and both are confirmed by the abundant historical interest of the epode, first in Sex. Pompeius, then in Jugurtha, and

¹³The most outstanding example of this tendency is the topos of the glory reflected by descendants on their ancestors; cf. Cairns (above, note 5), p. 131, n. 41. See below for further arguments about this conflation.

¹⁴Cf. Hans Peter Syndikus, *Die Lyrik des Horaz. Eine Interpretation der Oden. Band II. Drittes und viertes Buch*, (Darmstadt 1973), pp. 364 ff.

¹⁵The evidence for this is however slight, being confined to the scholiasts on Horace. It may be nothing more than fiction invented to explain the reference.

¹⁶In Horace's work *Odes* III. 30 is a notable example.

¹⁷Cf. Bartels (above, note 4), p. 299.

then in the Hannibalic war.

IV. Past History: verses 27-32

All previous commentators have assumed that vv. 27-32 describe M. Antonius and his flight after the battle of Actium. This view creates a number of severe problems, since Antonius (a) was not defeated on land, (b) did not go or attempt to go to Crete, (c) was not involved with the Syrtes, (d) did not flee in a state of uncertainty but went in a straight line to Egypt, touching land at Tainarum in Southern Laconia and then going on to Paraetionium (Marsa Matruh) on the Egyptian coast,¹⁸ from where he first sent Cleopatra on to Alexandria and then went there himself. No doubt each of these embarrassments could be explained away if it stood alone. But as a group the descriptions simply do not fit M. Antonius; and this is the reason for the welter of peculiar suggestions made by scholars about the information available to Horace when he was writing *Epode* 9 and about the time when he wrote it.

All these problems disappear on one simple hypothesis: just as *Odes* IV. 8. 13-20 (quoted above) associates the glory of Africanus with the *celeres fugae* of Hannibal, so the *victus hostis* of *Epode* 9. 27, who follows immediately after the mention of Africanus and Carthage in vv. 25 ff., is none other than Hannibal, so that the striking asyndeton which comes in the interval at v. 27 is the typical explanatory-amplificatory asyndeton of early Greek lyric.¹⁹ In linking the flight of Hannibal with the elder Scipio Africanus' victory at Zama and his subsequent triumph at *Epode* 9. 25 ff., Horace is being just as sketchy in historical terms as he is at *Odes* IV. 8. 15 ff. when, as noted above, he seems to be linking the destruction of Carthage with the elder rather than the younger Scipio and then goes on to speak of Hannibal's *celeres fugae* in the same context. Hannibal's first flight (which was from Carthage) took place in fact not immediately after the victory of Rome in the second Punic war, but some time later, when his enemies in Carthage had induced the Romans to accuse him of communication with King Antiochus. His second flight, this time from King

¹⁸The sources are Plutarch, *Ant.* 69; Dio 51. 5; Orosius VI. 19. 11 ff. Plutarch and Dio speak of Paraetionium as being in Libya, which it may have been in ancient, but not modern, terms. Orosius is better aware of the strategic situation when he speaks of *duo Aegypti cornua Pelusium Parethoniumque* (VI. 19. 13) (cf. *Parethonium, primam Aegypti a Libyae parte civitatem*, VI. 19. 15). At all events, Paraetionium (Marsa Matruh) is nowhere near either of the Syrtes.

¹⁹Cf. Francis Cairns, "Splendide Mendax: Horace *Odes* III. 11," *Greece and Rome* 22 (1975), p. 130 and n. 10; not (*pace* Williams [above, note 3], p. 217) "contrasting asyndeton."

Antiochus' court, was again later.

Horace gives various details of his *hostis'* actions in *Epode* 9. 27-32. Some can be elucidated from other sources dealing with Hannibal's flights. Livy records the first flight as follows:

itaque cedere tempori et fortunae statuit, et praeparatis iam ante omnibus ad fugam, obversatus eo die in foro avertendae suspicionis causa, primis tenebris vestitu forensi ad portam cum duobus comitibus ignaris consilii est egressus. cum equi, quo in loco iusserat, praesto fuissent, nocte Byzacium — ita regionem quandam Afri vocant — transgressus, postero die ad mare inter Acyllam et Thapsum ad suam turrem pervenit. ibi eum parata instructaque remigio excepit navis. ita Africa Hannibal excessit, saepius patriae quam suum eventum miseratus. eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit. (XXXIII. 47 ff.)

If Livy's account had been lost, we would have had to assume that the *punicum* of *Epode* 9. 27 was a *punicum sagum*, a purple military cloak which Horace supposed Hannibal wore on the analogy of the purple *sagum* worn by Roman military commanders (cf. *OLD* s.vv. *sagulum*, *sagum*). Hannibal's changing out of it and into a common soldier's *lugubre sagum* would then be another simple case of the topos of defeated generals changing their garments, found also in Plutarch and Velleius. Plutarch, *Caesar* 45. 729, records that Pompey doffed his general's cloak after Pharsalia; so did Lepidus as Velleius notes (2. 80), after being deserted by his soldiers. In the latter description we might compare *pulloque...amiculo* (of the replacement clothing donned by Lepidus), with the *lugubre...sagum* of *Epode* 9. 28. But Livy's specific information about Hannibal's garb at the time of his first flight suggests a modified approach. Hannibal was at this time, as Livy tells us (XXXIII. 46. 3), *praetor*, that is, one of the two suffetes who were the supreme magistrates at Carthage. Justinus (XXXI. 2. 6) calls him *tum temporis consulem*. Having thus in the immediately preceding passage stressed that Hannibal was suffete, Livy then tells us that Hannibal left Carthage wearing his *vestitus forensis* in order to allay suspicion. In context this must mean his suffete's robe. Now we do not know what suffetes wore — and Livy probably had no clear idea on the subject — but Romans would have assumed that the suffetes wore what their Roman equivalents did, the purple-striped *toga praetexta*.²⁰ The *punicum* thus may be the *toga praetexta*.

²⁰Purple robes had of course royal associations (Cic. *Phil.* 2. 34 and Mayor *ad loc.*; Serv. *ad Aen.* VII. 612) and the suffetes were often described as *reges* (cf. *Der Kleine Pauly* s.v. *sufeten*). If this association was paramount in Roman minds, then the *punicum* might be a *trabea*.

The point is not of major importance; and it is possible that Horace did not know the *vestitus forensis* story. We must remember also that Livy does not say that Hannibal then doffed his *vestitus forensis*, although he can hardly have thought that he went to sea in it. Horace could then simply be using the standard topos in a standard form, so that the *punicum* doffed by Hannibal is a purple *sagum*. But it would be strange if Horace did not know the *vestitus forensis* tale and even stranger if he had ignored it. There is also another slight advantage in the view that Horace meant *punicum* as "consul's robe." The terms *saga sumere* and *ad saga ire* meant "to go to war" (cf. *OLD* s.vv.citt.). If Horace is saying that Hannibal doffed a civilian robe and put on a *sagum*, there is the additional degradation for Hannibal that, having been thoroughly defeated as a general by Rome and Africanus in the past, he is now forced to leave civilian life and go to war again — and this time in a common soldier's *sagum*.

Both suppositions are consonant with Horace's liking for word-plays on *Poenus* and terms for purple in contexts where Hannibal is involved. The other relevant passages may be quoted here since they will be referred to again below:

Nolis longa ferae bella Numantiae
nec durum **Hannibalem** nec Siculum mare
Poenopurpleum sanguine mollibus
aptari citharae modis,... (*Odes* II. 12. 1-4)

non his iuventus orta parentibus
infecit aequor **sanguine Punico**,
Pyrrhumque et ingentem cecidit
Antiochum **Hannibalemque** dirum,... (*Odes*, III. 6. 33-36)

Another detail in Horace's account of the movements of the *victus hostis* (v. 27) also fits Hannibal's first flight. After leaving Africa Hannibal first *eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit* (Livy XXXIII. 48). The island of Cercina lies in the Syrtis Minor off the coast of Africa; and Horace notes that his *hostis, exercitatus aut petit Syrtis Noto* (v. 31). From there Hannibal, on his first flight, sailed to Tyre, then to Antiochea, then to Daphne and finally to Ephesus, where he met King Antiochus. None of these places is in Crete, which Horace refers to in the Homerizing expression *centum nobilem Cretam urbibus* (v. 29).²¹ But on his second flight Hannibal did indeed go to Crete (Nepos, *Hannibal* 9; Justinus XXXII. 4. 3 ff.). He resided at Gortyn in Crete for some time and played, at any rate in popular belief, a celebrated trick upon

²¹Κρήτη ἐκατόπολις, *Iliad* II. 649 and also *Odes* III. 27. 33 ff.

the citizens of that town. It looks as though, just as Horace conflates the two Scipiones here, in *Odes* IV. 8. 13 ff. and elsewhere (see below), and just as he conflates the two flights of Hannibal in *celeris fugae* at *Odes* IV. 8. 15, so he is conflating Hannibal's two flights again in *Epode* 9.

Horace's phrase about Hannibal, *terra marique victus* (v. 27) can be explained in two different ways. On the first explanation Hannibal was defeated by Scipio Africanus the elder at Zama on land, and, at a later point, he suffered defeat in a sea-battle at the hands of the Rhodians at Side (Livy XXXVII. 23 f.; Nepos, *Hannibal* 8. 4). The second explanation is suggested first by *Odes* II. 12. 1-4 (quoted above) — see Nisbet-Hubbard *ad loc.* Here Horace conflates the Roman victories at sea in the first Punic war (vv. 2 ff.) and Hannibal's defeat in the second Punic war (v. 2), and for good measure combines this with yet another Scipionic conflation, between Scipio Africanus the younger, victor at Numantia (v. 1) (and also destroyer of Carthage), and Scipio Africanus the elder (v. 2). The explanation is reinforced by *Odes* III. 6. 33-36 (also quoted above), where the Roman naval victories of the first Punic war are linked with the Roman victory over Pyrrhus and then with two defeats of Hannibal, at Zama and later when he was the general of Antiochus. If confluations like these are in play in *Epode* 9. 27, then the *mari* element of *terra marique victus* could refer to the naval battles of the first Punic war, so that in vv. 25-28 all three Punic wars were being referred to.

Horace's remaining words about Hannibal, *ventis iturus non suis* (v. 30) and *incerto mari* (v. 32), may refer to his uncertainty about his ultimate destination on his second flight. Keller-Holder *ad loc.* produce examples of such uncertainty — cf. esp. Seneca *Epistles* 71. 3: *ignoranti, quem portum petat, nullus suus ventus est*. It is perhaps more likely, however, that just as the change of dress derives from a standard description of the flights of famous leaders, so this idea also does. Whatever one decides about this point, it is interesting that the prophecy of Hannibal's second exile in Silius Italicus *Punica* 13. 885-87 displays some similar phraseology:

post Itala bella
Assyrio famulus regi falsusque cupiti
Ausoniae motus, **dubio** petet aequora velo....

The interpretation offered of vv. 25-32 involves hypothesizing a certain amount of temporal dislocation in Horace's account of Hannibal. In itself this is not a difficult hypothesis, since such temporal dislocations, like the episodic narrative technique employed by Horace in the

epode, are perfectly in keeping with its literary background. The epodes, as is well known, are inspired by the early Greek iambographers Archilochus and Hipponax, and by the Hellenistic iambographer Callimachus. In both traditions such temporal distortions are common;²² and it should be remembered that Horace is working within a living Greek Hellenistic tradition as transferred to Rome. But there are also more particular indications to support the notion that Horace is distorting chronology here. In this very epode chronology is reversed in the progression from Sex. Pompeius to Jugurtha to Africanus. Again, among the other Horatian passages relating to Hannibal, *Odes* IV. 8. 15 ff. reverses the chronological order of Hannibal's *reiectaeque...minae* (v. 16) and of his *celeres fugae* (v. 15) before returning to chronological order with the *incendia Carthaginis* (v. 17); *Odes* II. 12. 1-4 present the Numantine war, the second Punic war and the first Punic war in reverse temporal order; in *Odes* III. 6. 33-36 the first Punic war is followed by the previous defeat of Pyrrhus and then by Antiochus before Hannibal, who was an earlier adversary of Rome as well as a joint adversary of Rome along with Antiochus, makes his appearance. Finally in *Epode* 16, in another context involving Hannibal, an even more colorful welter of temporal dislocations can be found:

quam neque finitimi valuerunt perdere Marsi
 minacis aut Etrusca Porsenae manus,
 aemula nec virtus Capuae nec Spartacus acer
 novisque rebus infidelis Allobrox,
 nec fera caerulea domuit Germania pube
 parentibusque abominatus Hannibal,... (*Epode* 16. 3-8)

It is quite clear then that Horace does not feel bound to follow strict chronological sequence when using historical *exempla*. An interesting additional, and non-Horatian example, of temporal dislocation in exactly the same type of context, which unites the victory of Augustus at Actium and a number of parallels from past Roman history including Hannibal, and a mode of treatment not dissimilar to that seen in *Epode* 9, is Propertius III. 11. 29-72.

If this interpretation of vv. 27-32 is correct,²³ then various consequences follow. On a minor level *petit* (v. 31) and *fertur* (v. 32) are

²²Cf. Cairns (above, note 5), "General Index" s.v. *temporal dislocation* etc.

²³A skeptic who believed that the *hostiliumque navium* (v. 19) referred to the ships of Antonius and Cleopatra, rather than just to those of Cleopatra, might claim that *hostilium* there argued against the identification of the *hostis* of v. 27 as Hannibal. But Horace in this epode quite deliberately repeats the same words with different references. So *dux* (v. 8) is Sex. Pompeius, whereas *ducem* (v. 24) is Octavianus. Similarly *navibus* (v. 8) are those of Sex. Pompeius and *navium* (v. 19) those of Cleopatra.

historic presents.²⁴ More important, the epode can be seen to be even less a description of the battle of Actium than some have thought. Rather it is Horace's meditation on the victory of Actium, as he places it within a Roman historical context. Cleopatra is mentioned, but she is dealt with briskly (v. 12). M. Antonius is not actually mentioned at all: he is glimpsed only indirectly through the filter of some of Rome's most notorious enemies, Sex. Pompeius, Jugurtha and Hannibal. The implication throughout is of course that Antonius is a *hostis* of the Roman people.

V. The Enemy Fleet: verses 19 ff.

Scholars have sought with little success to elicit from these two lines conclusions about the maneuvers and disposition of the Egyptian fleet. The stumbling block has been *sinistrorsum*, a word which appears to have no technical status in Roman naval or military language. A new approach is needed. The Homeric allusion of v. 29 has already been noted; and indeed it is only one of many such Horatian translations of Homeric terms and phrases found throughout his work.²⁵ Now in v. 20 the phrase *puppēs...citae* (cf. the similar phrase in another Actian poem, *Odes*, I. 37. 2, *nec latentes / classe cita reparavit oras*) translates the Homeric phrase *θοαὶ νῆες*. This suggests that *sinistrorsum* translates its equally literal Homeric equivalent *ἐπ' ἀριστερά*.

But what significance could *sinistrorsum* have, if it does so? *ἐπ' ἀριστερά* occurs thirteen times in the *Iliad*. There was some controversy in antiquity over its meaning, as can be seen both from the Homeric scholia on *Iliad* VII. 238 and from Eustathius *ad loc.* One of the explanations offered by the scholia and Eustathius of this phrase and of its opposite *ἐπὶ δεξιὰ* is extremely apposite for *Epode* 9. 19 ff.: *δεξιὰ μὲν τὸ διώκειν, ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὸ φεύγειν* (Schol. Σ234 al.). Schol. BCE³E⁴ offer a muddled variant of the same gloss: *ἢ τὸ μὲν νικᾶν καὶ διώκειν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ κινεῖν εἶπε τὴν ἀσπίδα διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τῶν δεξιῶν, τὸ δὲ φεύγειν καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κινεῖν φησὶν εὐφημότερον...τὸ δὲ φεύγειν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ λέγει νωμᾶν. τηνικαῦτα γὰρ ἐξ ἀριστερῶν αὐτὴν ἔχει τοῦ διώκοντος*. (Eustathius 679. 15-19)

In these terms, *ἐπ' ἀριστερά* signifies fleeing and being defeated. Now we know that Hellenistic and Roman poets were familiar not only

²⁴Therefore not, with Wistrand (above, note 2), pp. 49 ff., "prophetic presents." On historic presents see Nisbet-Hubbard on *Odes* I. 34. 12.

²⁵Theodor Arnold and Wilhelm Fries, *Die griechischen Studien des Horaz* (Halle 1891), pp. 12 ff.

with Homer but also with the ancient commentaries on Homer,²⁶ that controversies upon disputed phrases interested them particularly, and that they frequently offer implied interpretations of such phrases in their learned poetry. Horace is showing his knowledge of, and verdict upon, the Homeric problem of the meaning of ἐπ' ἀριστερά. At the same time he is elegantly conveying the notion that the swift prow of the enemy ships lurk in harbor in flight and in defeat. The reference is of course to the flight to Egypt of Cleopatra and her ships, which, technically speaking, had not actually been defeated in the battle.

Further confirmation that Horace is translating Homeric ἐπ' ἀριστερά in *sinistrorsum*, and that he is alluding to a gloss upon it of the type found in the scholia and Eustathius, comes from *Iliad* XII. 108-19. Here the Trojan Hyrtacides rashly decides to attack the Greek ships. He comes in his chariot close up to the νήεσσι θοῇσι (112); and (118) εἵσατο ("went") — *v.l.* εἵσατο ("lurked") — νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερά ("to the left of the ships").²⁷ The phrases "swift ships," "lurking"²⁸ (*latent*), and "to the left of the ships" all come together in this passage. It is unlikely that the inspiration is direct; rather we have in this passage the Homeric original of a lost Greek intermediary or intermediaries known to Horace — probably early Greek but possibly Hellenistic — which may already have incorporated some such explanation of ἐπ' ἀριστερά.

VI. Some General Observations

The interpretations advanced above gain further useful confirmation from the fact that they bring the epode into conformity with other Horatian and Augustan poetry in three significant ways.

(a) The compositional technique of *Epode* 9 now reveals itself as similar to that found in some of the odes; for a substantial part of the poem Horace moves away from the matter at hand into a train of myth or historical *exempla* which is nevertheless rich, like its early Greek

²⁶Hellenistic Greek literary *Homerkritik* is common knowledge. For major Roman interest in this area, cf. Robin Schlunk *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid*, (Ann Arbor 1974).

²⁷Νηῶν ἐπ' ἀριστερά also occurs at *Iliad* XIII. 675.

²⁸If *portu latent* represents a Greek original ναυλοχοῦσι (as Mr. DuQuesnay suggests to me) then the intermediary hypothesis becomes even more attractive since ναυλοχέω often means not just "to lie in harbor" but "to lurk in harbor in ambush" (cf. *LSJ* s.v.). This nuance is not appropriate to *Epode* 9. 19 ff. but it fits a putative εἵσατο precisely — and it is just the sort of nuance to be lost or abandoned in transmission. The word ναυλοχέω would of course have interested Horace in this context, given Sex. Pompeius was defeated at Naulochus (*Epode* 9. 7 ff.).

antecedents, in associative and illustrative value for the main theme. *Odes* I. 7 and III. 27 are outstanding examples of this technique; but it is much more widespread.

(b) The conceptual structure of the epode — a typical ring-composition — and the typical Hellenistic pattern of balanced asymmetry ²⁹ within it (C1 expanded, C2 contracted; B2 expanded more than B1 in compensation) become clear once Sex. Pompeius can be seen to have Hannibal as his structural counterpart.³⁰ The thematic outline is something as follows:

A1	1-6	The symposiastic celebration (cf. <i>Caecubum</i> , 1)
B1	7-10	The great former victory of Octavianus over Sex. Pompeius
C1	11-20	a) 11-16 The present enemy Cleopatra b) 17-20 also defeated by Octavianus
D	21-23	The future triumph of Octavianus [center]
C2	23-24	The past victory and triumph of C. Marius over Jugurtha
B2	25-32	The great former victory and triumph of Scipio Africanus over Hannibal, and its consequences
A2	33-38	The symposiastic celebration (cf. <i>Caecubum</i> , 36).

A clear temporal structure³¹ can also be seen within these themes, and this balances in some measure the temporal dislocations examined above.

(c) Since the epode can now be seen to deal in the main with the African enemies of Rome, Cleopatra, Jugurtha and Hannibal, its view of Actium is the same as that presented by Virgil in the *Aeneid*: the Actian war is the final surfacing of a longstanding hostility between Rome and African nations, which originated in the love-affair between Dido and Aeneas, and which in the past expressed itself most severely in the wars between Rome and Carthage.

²⁹On both features see Cairns (above, note 5), Ch. 8.

³⁰It is particularly interesting that Sex. Pompeius in *Epode* 9 fled (*fugit*, v. 8) and used threats (*minatus*, v. 9) while in *Odes* IV. 8. 15 ff. the words *celeris fugae* / *reiectaeque retrorsum Hannibalis minae* apply to Hannibal.

³¹Cf. Cairns (above, note 5), pp. 212 ff.

The only Roman enemy now mentioned in *Epode* 9 is the renegade and pirate Sex. Pompeius. M. Antonius appears nowhere in person. In this, as in many other features, *Epode* 9 moves closer to *Odes* I. 37, as indeed to Propertius III. 11 and IV. 6. In such Augustan "Actium" poems the contemporary enemy on whom the limelight falls is Cleopatra, and Antony is either ignored or receives scant explicit mention — a reflection of official Augustan propaganda, in which the Actian war was not a civil war, but a foreign war against the Queen of Egypt, Cleopatra.³²

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³²On this aspect cf. already Williams (above, note 3), pp. 217 ff.

The Cause of Ovid's Exile

G. P. GOOLD

All the world loves a mystery, for behind a mystery may lie enough romance and adventure to gratify even the wildest imagination, whereas the clear and self-explanatory becomes all too often dull and boring. The assassination of President Kennedy, though the subject of an investigation conducted with unparalleled intensity, will — at least for some — remain a mystery forever, though for others it is no mystery at all. Casting our minds back over history we shall have no difficulty in adducing other examples of this phenomenon, namely the rejection of a simple and straightforward explanation not so much in favor of an alternative as for the acceptance of a permanent state of uncertainty, from which disappointment is banished and in which the powers of the imagination are perpetually nourished by evergreen hopes and speculations.

Ovid's exile no mystery

Description of Ovid's exile as a mystery is universal, and inasmuch as there is no agreement about the effective clause of the indictment, the word cannot be censured. In his survey of the problem Thibault found himself forced to conclude, after cataloguing a remarkably large number of hypotheses, that "none is completely satisfactory."¹ Thus, before we have even begun to examine any of the evidence, we are tempted to form a prejudice that the mystery felt by modern scholars is a genuine mystery, handed down by tradition from Ovid's own times.

¹John C. Thibault, *The Mystery of Ovid's Exile* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1964), p. 121.

However, in his autobiographical poem, *Trist.* 4. 10, Ovid says quite categorically: "The cause of my ruin, only too well known to everyone, is not to be revealed by evidence of mine":

Causa meae cunctis nimium quoque nota ruinae
indicio non est testificanda meo. (vv. 99-100)

Everyone at Rome knew the reason, says Ovid, almost as though it were superfluous for him to specify what it was and perhaps shame himself in the eyes of posterity. Now, if Ovid's sin were generally known, we cannot take the position that it was something frightfully hush-hush and that he carried to the grave through long years in exile a secret potentially dangerous to Augustus. Not but what this position is occasionally taken: "What everyone knew," says Hollis, "was merely that Ovid had offended the emperor."² But surely Ovid is more specific than this? The natural interpretation of the couplet is that, though the offense could not tactfully be discussed in public, everyone knew what it was. Again, Ovid writes at *Pont.* I. 7. 39-40: "Just as I wish I could deny my guilt, so too everyone knows (*nemo nescit*) that mine was no crime." The couplet patently means that the effective cause of Ovid's banishment was widely known.

Another consideration we must bear in mind is that the only evidence we have is that of Ovid himself. He is hardly a disinterested witness. Besides possessing phenomenal rhetorical skill — his poems are full of examples in which he presents a situation from two contrary points of view — he was after all fighting a determined battle for reinstatement, for him virtually a battle for life itself. Moreover, he is quite capable of totally misleading us, as when he says he burnt the *Metamorphoses*, or that this poem lacks the finishing touches.³ He is quite capable of sheer romancing, as when he tells us of poems he composed in the Getic tongue.⁴ Tomis was no doubt bleak and joyless for the outcast, but his description of the landscape and environment would never suggest the fact that tourists today flock there in large numbers.

It is perhaps not surprising, though for our enquiry it is most unfortunate, that we have no early imperial notice of Ovid's banishment. But I think we must accept this as devoid of significance; we are in like case with Catullus, about whom there is not a word in Cicero.

²A. S. Hollis, *Ovid, Ars Amatoria, Book I* (Oxford 1977), p. xiv, n. 2.

³*Trist.* I. 7. 14, 20. The lie is given to these assertions by Ovid himself, in verse 24, in his admission that the poem (hardly then incomplete) had been transcribed in numerous copies.

⁴*Pont.* IV. 13. 19-22 (in contrast to *Trist.* V. 10. 35-42).

No doubt Suetonius gave some colorful version (perhaps even the truth) in his *De Poetis*, but it has not survived. We are left with Ovid's uncorroborated statements. Still, we need not be too eager to disbelieve him. Indeed, inasmuch as he is appealing for help from influential Romans who would readily have detected fundamental misstatements of fact, his unequivocal testimony on basic matters ought to be reliable. Where, on the other hand, he is evasive or ambiguous or appears to take shelter in vague or cryptic utterance, there we should be on our guard. As I have argued earlier, Ovid was not in possession of a secret which threatened Augustus. How could the latter have tolerated this? It would have been so easy for him to contrive Ovid's suicide. Certainly, to banish the most articulate of living Romans to a place beyond instant control and from which he could, and did, send a spate of missives to Rome was no way to keep his mouth shut.

Ovid's early publications

The inquiry will best begin with a brief review of Ovid's career up to the time of his disgrace. He was born of an old and wealthy equestrian family in 43 B.C., studied rhetoric at Rome and Athens, and made as if to devote himself to a political career; but his virtuosity as poet beckoned him in a different direction, and in early manhood he made the decision to abandon all other callings and dedicate himself full-time to the Muses.

From about 20 B.C., for over two decades, Ovid poured forth with uninterrupted regularity a series of elegiac works that far surpassed anything ever previously attempted in their open mockery of accepted sexual morality. When we reflect that Ovid's wit was as smart as Oscar Wilde's, and his genius in creating elegiac music out of the Latin language positively Mozartian, we can hardly be surprised that at the end of this period he had established himself as Rome's foremost poet, and was the idol of the capital.

The *Amores*, originally in five books, probably published at the rate of a book a year, were completed by about 15 B.C. His tragedy, *Medea* (now lost), may have been next (or if it was not, it was at any rate an early work); and certainly there followed the *Heroides* (I mean the single poems 1-15), which takes us up to about 5 B.C.

In thus talking of Ovid's output over the period 20 B.C. - 5 B.C., I ought to issue a caveat about the terms 'publication' and 'edition'; even

so authoritative a scholar as Syme⁵ talks of 'publication' and 'edition' as if Ovid's work was brought out by Harper & Row or the Oxford University Press. The reality must have been very different: a clue to the meaning of book-production at this time may be found in the nature of his *Medea*, which was closer to Senecan than to early republican tragedy. Ovid recited his poems at soirées in salons, and recitations must to some extent have served as publication. Assuredly they gained him considerable publicity; he boasts of being the talk of Rome, and there is no reason to disbelieve him. As for second editions, they seem to have been remarkably few in antiquity: *nescit vox missa reverti*. We cannot say that because of the change of dedication the six books of the *Fasti* which we have constitute a revised edition, for that work was never issued as a first: indeed, it was never completed, and what we have of it was not given to the world until after the poet's death. Even the so-called second edition of the *Amores*, that which we have, containing three books rather than five (according to the prefatory epigram), may not have involved re-writing, merely the suppression of some excessively shocking poems that had amused when heard but given offense when read.

From 1 B.C. to A.D. 2 there burst upon Rome the wittiest and naughtiest of Ovid's compositions: first, in 1 B.C., Books I and II of the *Ars Amatoria* (The Playboy's Handbook: Book I: Where to find your girl and how to seduce her; Book II: How to keep her). A year or two later came an afterthought, Book III (Advice to Playgirls), and hard on its heels a kind of mock-recantation, the *Remedia Amoris* (How, having fallen in love, to fall out of it).

It is a pity we cannot be more precise about the dates, for it was in 2 B.C. that Julia, the emperor's own daughter, was accused by him of immoral conduct and summarily banished. The senators were not suffered to remain in ignorance of the details; Augustus saw to it that documentary evidence of her numerous affairs was read out to them. In view of what is to come, it is noteworthy that, for several years after Julia had been visited with such condign punishment, Ovid's scandalous series of publications should issue forth without abatement and without attracting censure. And this will be no less true if with Syme and others we fancy that the *Ars Amatoria* was first produced several years earlier, say between 9 and 6 B.C. In either case, Augustus missed a splendid opportunity of proceeding against Ovid at the time of his daughter's banishment. Syme's chief reason is that the passage in *Ars Amatoria* I dealing with the Sea-battle and the digression on the

⁵Ronald Syme, *History in Ovid* (Oxford 1978), Chapter I (pp. 1-20).

Parthian War of Gaius Caesar (which fixes the date firmly at 1 B.C.) is an insertion. The suggestion of a second edition is resisted by Hollis,⁶ and I am sure he is right. Self-contained episodes may throw light on the order of composition, but external evidence is needed to justify theories of separate editions. Why, the Laocoon episode in *Aeneid* II is universally conceded to be a careful insertion by Virgil, but no one has ever argued that *Aeneid* II was published in an early edition before Virgil's death.

Syme also conjectures that between the first two books of the *Ars Amatoria* and Book III there intervened the second edition of the *Amores* and what he calls the final edition of the *Heroides* (i.e. with the addition of 16-21).⁷ Nothing could be more improbable than that Ovid interrupted his composition of the *Ars Amatoria* for other compositions; and that *Heroides* 16-21 were not so produced can be definitively proved.

Propertius left an indelible mark on Latin elegiac verse composition by his gradual progression towards ending every pentameter with a word of two syllables. In his first book the proportion of disyllabic endings is 63.7%; in the second 89.4%; in the third 97.6%; and in the fourth 98.7%. Whatever we may feel about the aesthetics of this principle, there can be no doubt that Ovid regarded it — for whatever reason — as mandatory. So much so that in all his early work, from the *Amores* to the *Remedia Amoris*, that is in nearly 4,500 pentameters, there is not one single pentameter which ends with a polysyllabic word.

In his *Fasti*, which he was working on when he was exiled, however, there are two polysyllabic endings; in *Heroides* 16-21 there are three; and in the exilic poems (nearly 3,700 pentameters) there are 48.⁸ What does this mean? Why should a virtuoso poet who sets up an invariable rule continue to observe it, but only for 99% of the time? One can understand an artist making a clean break with a principle, but it is less easy to fathom a clearly perceptible but infinitesimal relaxation of that principle. At any rate, if (as I now accept) Ovid is the author of *Heroides* 16-21, he composed them during or after his work on the *Metamorphoses*. To place them between *Ars* II and *Ars* III is simply a blind guess, and a wrong one.

⁶Hollis (above, note 2), p. xiii (and on 171).

⁷Syme (above, note 5), p. 20.

⁸*Fast.* V. 582 *fluminibus*, VI. 660 *funeribus*; *Her.* 16. 288 *puclitiae*; 17. 16 *superciliis*; 19. 202 *deseruit*; *Ibis* 506 *Berecyniades*, 518 *historiae*; *Tristia* 15 instances (.85%), all quadrisyllables or pentasyllables like I. 3. 6 *Ausoniae* and II. 212 *adulterii*; *Ex Ponto* 31 instances (1.94%), of similar type (except for I. 1. 66 *non faciet*; I. 6. 26 *scelus est*; I. 8. 40

To return to Ovid's poetic career. It is A.D. 2. The elder Julia is languishing in exile, and the poet, having exhausted erotic elegy, turns to new literary endeavors. Over the next several years he is busied with the composition (which to some extent must have overlapped) of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*. Certainly he had not completed the latter work when in A.D. 8 (a date on which all agree) the blow fell.

Ovid's relegation

In *Pont.* II. 3, written to his close friend Cotta Maximus several years afterwards, he relives the awful memory of that occasion. He was staying with his friend on the island of Elba when a messenger arrived bringing Ovid a summons back to Rome, probably — though this is not quite certain — to face Augustus in person. Ovid at once knew that he was in deep trouble, and at first denied the charge to Cotta; but his fear at what awaited him in Rome, and his eagerness to enlist Cotta's active help, soon compelled him to confess that he was implicated. From this passage we can be sure that some recent serious event had occurred and that Ovid had a sufficiently guilty conscience to refer to his part in it as *culpae mala fama meae* "the ill-repute of my sin" (v. 86).

Clearly this something was not the publication of the *Ars Amatoria* a decade earlier. There is no suggestion in Ovid's account that he was astonished at the charge, no suggestion that he was unjustly or erroneously accused, no suggestion that he had only involuntarily witnessed the crime of another or others. Indeed, earlier in the poem he recalls that Cotta's anger with him was as intense as Augustus's. But Cotta's anger, so he alleges, gradually subsided, and, with growing feelings of sympathy, he pondered the possibility of Ovid's being pardoned as a first offender. Although the poet is careful not to give the slightest clue to the nature of the charge (except that it must have been serious), he has admitted that he was guilty.

Back in Rome, Ovid seems to have appeared before Augustus, who conducted a trial *in camera*. From a remark the poet lets drop (*Trist.* II. 133-34) we gather that he was given a fierce verbal castigation, at the end of which he was commanded to leave the country by a certain date and henceforth to live at Tomis, at the very end, if not of the world, at least of the Roman Empire. The sentence was announced to the public by a special edict (*Trist.* II. 123-38), in which Ovid was not technically exiled, but relegated; this milder punishment softened the blow for the condemned man's family, and enabled him to retain

his property and his citizenship. His poems were banned from the three public libraries in Rome (*Trist.* III. 1).

The second book of the *Tristia*, which consists of a single poem, provides us with further clues to the cause of his exile. There were two counts, the immorality of the *Ars Amatoria* and an unspecified charge. The latter, which of course must be what provoked the summons delivered to him on Elba, will now engage our chief attention. To a large extent the elaborate defense mounted by Ovid in *Tristia* II must therefore beat the air; still, in it Ovid does say (or rather makes Cupid say) that of the two charges (*carmen et error*, v. 207) it is the *error* which has done him the greater harm. Moreover, the mistake was an affront to Augustus himself: *ultus es offensas, ut decet, ipse tuas* (v. 134).

Ovid tells us that he broke no law (*Pont.* II. 9. 71); he did not murder, poison, forge (*Pont.* II. 9. 67 ff.); nor rebel (*Trist.* II. 51); nor conspire, spread scandal, or commit sacrilege (*Trist.* III. 5. 45 ff.). His error brought harm only upon himself and brought him no profit whatever (*Trist.* III. 6. 34). Several times he insists that his error was to have seen a crime,⁹ and here I think we are justified in showing a little skepticism. The poet is misleading us, and misleading us in two ways. His statement suggests he was an involuntary bystander — but we have already heard him admit to Cotta Maximus that he was guilty and from Cotta's reaction guilty of a serious crime. Secondly, the story that he saw a crime suggests a single incident (such absurd and preposterous notions that Ovid saw Livia in the nude or Augustus committing an indecent act¹⁰ illustrate — by suggesting a single occasion — the kind of impression that Ovid would have us form). And yet this would seem to be incorrect. In *Trist.* IV. 4 he says: "Even this fault which has ruined me you will deny to be a crime, if you should come to know the whole course of this great evil (*si tanti series sit tibi nota mali*, v. 38)." So the evil of which Ovid is guilty was not committed on one occasion, but had some development, some history.

One last point before we consider possible explanations: can we determine *why* Ovid had to keep silent about his error? Remember that his defense of the *Ars Amatoria* in *Tristia* II. 207 ff. left unanswered the second charge:

Perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
alterius facti culpa silenda mihi:
nam non sum tanti, renovem ut tua vulnera, Caesar,
quem nimio plus est indoluisse semel. (vv. 207-10)

⁹For example *Trist.* II. 103; III. 5. 49-50.

¹⁰See Thibault (above, note 1), pp. 73-74; 68 ff.

Though two crimes, a poem and a mistake, have ruined me,
 of my fault in one of them I must keep silent,
 for I am not worth enough to re-open your wounds, Caesar:
 for you to have been pained once is once too often.

I have tried earlier to demolish the possible argument that Ovid was in sole or virtually sole possession of some secret. When he said that all Rome knew, he was doubtless exaggerating, but for all his professions of silence over the matter, his poems reveal that at least six of his correspondents knew the details: his wife (*Pont.* III. 1. 147), Messalinus (*Pont.* II. 2. 55-56), Cotta Maximus (*Pont.* II. 3. 85 ff.), Graecinus (*Pont.* II. 6. 5-12), Sextus Pompeius (*Pont.* IV. 15. 25-26), and Fabius Maximus (*Pont.* I. 2. 144). It is hard to credit that knowledge of Ovid's crime was limited to these six persons, harder still to believe that they all held their tongues. Moreover, this is merely to enumerate those who learned the details from Ovid. Augustus on his side will have discussed the affair with his advisers.

We must not forget that the *error* had inflicted pain on Augustus personally; and failing some personal involvement of Ovid with Augustus (which seems not remotely indicated), the only feasible explanation is that some member of Augustus's family was concerned. In confirmation of this we read at *Tristia* III. 4. 1 ff.: "O you who were ever dear to me, but whom I came best to know in the evil hour when my fortunes collapsed, if you trust in aught a friend who has been schooled by experience, live for yourself and flee afar from great names (*vive tibi, et longe nomina magna fuge*)!" So Ovid's connection with great names, that is someone close to Augustus, has led to the collapse of his fortunes.

Turn we now to some members of Augustus's family. His daughter Julia (who had been exiled in 2 B.C.) had by her marriage to Agrippa five children. These had been taken into the house of Augustus and brought up very much as his own: the two eldest, Gaius and Lucius, had been chosen to mark out the line of succession to the principate in preference to Augustus's stepson Tiberius (a matter which keenly rankled with him and largely induced his retirement to Rhodes). But herein Augustus was unlucky, or maybe he pushed the two young men too hard. At any rate they met premature deaths in foreign service. Julia's other children were a daughter of the same name (the Younger Julia), another daughter Agrippina, and a son born a few months after his father's death and appropriately named Agrippa Postumus. On Gaius's death in A.D. 4 Augustus reluctantly abandoned hope of a Julian successor, for he formally adopted Tiberius, making him adopt in turn his nephew Germanicus, thereby marking out

unmistakably the line of succession. Agrippa Postumus was also adopted by Augustus, but without any of those extra marks of favor which might insinuate preferment over Tiberius and Germanicus. And this inferior status Postumus, who was a boy of unruly temper and boorish manners, seems to have resented: he accused his adoptive father of cheating him of his patrimony and kicked up such tantrums that in A.D. 7 Augustus disinherited him and sent him into exile.¹¹

The next year (and this of course is A.D. 8, the year of Ovid's relegation) the emperor was further mortified to learn that his granddaughter Julia was no better than her mother: she was convicted of adultery and banished to an island off the coast of Apulia (Tacitus, *Ann.* IV. 71). Her lover, Junius Silanus, got off lightly; he went into voluntary exile and was not further molested (*ibid.* III. 24).

Julia's adultery

The coincidence of dates seems too pointed for one to refrain from making a connection. And I shall at last confess that like many others from the eighteenth century onwards I believe that, aided by his wife's distant connection with the empress Livia and by his social prestige as Rome's greatest living poet, Ovid came to know the princess Julia and, in circumstances we cannot now hope to divine, abetted her adultery with Silanus.¹² Possibly he was manipulated: flattered by her recognition of him he may have entertained her and members of her circle until he could no longer hide from himself what his eyes told him. Whether his house was used as a place of assignation or in some other way he acted as a go-between, he remained silent until all had come out and denial of his complicity was futile. The personal wound he inflicted on Augustus is now readily identifiable, and similarly intelligible is the indictment of the *Ars Amatoria*. The poem alone, however much it annoyed Augustus, cannot have been and on Ovid's own statements was not in itself the chief cause:¹³ had it been, Augustus possessed sufficient grounds for taking action against Ovid from the moment it was published. But Ovid's personal involvement transformed the paper delinquencies of his poetry into a more actionable offense; and it is easy to imagine Augustus, when he confronted

¹¹Cassius Dio LV. 32. See also Velleius Paterculus 2. 112; Tacitus, *Ann.* I. 3; Suetonius, *Aug.* 65. 4.

¹²The first satisfactory statement was made by Thomas Dyer: "On the Cause of Ovid's Exile," *Classical Museum* 4 (1847), pp. 229-47, still an exemplary account.

¹³As is often alleged, for example by Gaston Boissier, *L'Opposition sous les Césars* (Paris 1875), pp. 112-69, whose explanation of the *error*, however, is sound enough.

Ovid, flying into a rage and accusing him of being a veritable *praeceptor adulterii*. Hence the branding of the poem as well as the banishment of the poet; and, since the instigator of a crime may with justice be held more reprehensible and punished more severely than the actual perpetrator — who, it may be, has merely followed the course advocated to him — we can understand how it is that Augustus treated Ovid so severely and Silanus so lightly. Ovid's reticence about his *error* is also clarified. It would have been in the worst possible taste to expose the sordid details (moreover, he was guilty), and he understandably chose discretion in preference to shaming himself (and shaming Augustus, too). A further point is this: it is not likely that the two counts on which Ovid was condemned were unrelated. If, possessing absolute power, you are minded to inflict summary punishment on a man who has mortally offended you, it hardly makes sense to charge him, for example, with (a) running away with your wife and (b) poisoning your cat ten years earlier. Why mention the second charge at all? On the other hand, had the villain been generally known to have seduced your sister ten years earlier, you might well feel that the addition of that as a second charge would in the public's eyes intensify and further establish his culpability on the first. In two words: if the earlier was the real charge, Augustus would have acted earlier; if it was irrelevant and hence powerless to sustain the *crimen erroris*, Ovid would have contrived to apprise us of the fact.

Syme has several times¹⁴ suggested that the adultery alleged against the younger Julia is fabricated and conceals a political motive; and it is true that the only alternative theory to merit consideration sees Ovid as an unfortunate victim, caught up in a web of intrigue whereby some Julian faction aimed to supplant the Claudians. Immoral conduct is normally alleged, Syme remarks,¹⁵ to disguise a political offense.

I venture to question this unsupported line of speculation. It seems highly improbable that Augustus ever flung an ill-founded charge of adultery at a carrier of his own blood. Not only was he obsessed with the desire of establishing a Julian dynasty, but he repeatedly attempted legislation to invigorate the aristocracy by stabilizing family life and sexual morality: the *Lex Iulia de maritandis ordinibus* and the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis* both of 18 B.C. were carefully planned measures, and the former act was sufficiently rigorous to compel the mitigation of some of its clauses in the *Lex Papia Poppaea* of A.D. 9.

¹⁴For example *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939), p. 432; *Tacitus* (Oxford 1958) II, p. 404 and n. 1.

¹⁵Syme (above, note 5), p. 219.

Moreover, in all royal houses, adultery is a very ugly word, and adultery by a female in the direct line of succession is tantamount to treason. In the free and permissive world in which we live it is exceedingly difficult for us to accept double standards of conduct. But that absolute compliance with tradition is required in the house of a hereditary ruler where the line of succession is or may be affected holds true even today. The British Empire was shaken to its foundations when King Edward VIII desired to marry a divorced woman, and Princess Margaret in similar circumstances had to forfeit her personal happiness not many years later, although at about the same time the divorce and re-marriage of the Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, barely made the front page of the newspapers. A recent scandal in Saudi Arabia reinforces the point. A fictionalized version of the incident was televised in Britain and the United States in 1980 and caused diplomatic tempers to flare. The actual events took place three years earlier and concern a Saudi princess, she too a granddaughter, in fact of Mohammed ibn Abdel-Aziz, King Khalid's elder brother and one of the most powerful members of the Saudi royal family. This unhappy modern Julia had been married to Saudi princes and was divorced twice. After leaving Saudi Arabia for Lebanon she studied at the American University of Beirut, where she met her lover. Upon her return to Saudi Arabia, her request to marry him was refused; she was accused and convicted of adultery with a commoner; and on the orders of her grandfather she was executed by a firing squad, whilst her lover was beheaded in a public square.¹⁶

The conspiracy theory

Let us now look at the alternative theory of conspiracy, which has a number of variations. It is favored by S. G. Owen (in the introduction to his edition of *Tristia* II), Syme, and many others. But there are two sponsors of it who deserve special mention.

The first is the former British poet laureate, John Masefield. In his long poem *A Letter from Pontus* (1936) the narrator is a junior officer on a legate's staff who, on a visit to Tomis, meets Ovid and brings back a letter from him giving his version of the facts: he had found himself in Caesar's palace directing a production of his *Medea*; the leading roles were played by Julia and Silanus, her lover, as Ovid was shocked to discover; hardly had he made the further discovery of a plot to secure the succession for Agrippa Postumus when, now that he was implicated, the plot was betrayed; the rest we know. Frances

¹⁶Condensed from *The New York Times*, April 24 (7:1) and April 25 (15:1), 1980.

Norwood's version¹⁷ has no place for the *Medea*, but she too takes a rash leap into the sea of conjecture by having Julia, in scheming for Postumus's return, actually visit him in exile, improbably escorted thither by Ovid, who was brought in under cover of instructing Postumus in literary appreciation. From this implausible *point de départ* she constructs a basis for Ovid's being charged with the immorality of the *Ars Amatoria*.

A new hypothesis of Syme's connects the downfall not only of Julia and Silanus, and of Ovid, but of Julia's husband as well: they were all implicated in a grand conspiracy in A.D. 8.¹⁸ Let us pass over the consideration that in that case adultery was not a plausible charge to trump up against Julia. Still, Syme is right to insist that, since she was accused of adultery, her husband, Lucius Aemilius Paullus, must still have been alive. He is said by Suetonius to have conspired against Augustus and by a garbled scholium on Juvenal (VI. 158) to have been executed for it. But the date of his execution is unspecified; moreover, chronological complications arise from an inscription seemingly fixing his death in A.D. 14 — from which Syme concludes that in A.D. 8 he was not executed at all but simply exiled like Julia and her lover and Ovid.

But it is far from clear that Paullus's downfall is to be assigned to A.D. 8 anyway: this is pure surmise on the part of Syme. On the contrary the Juvenal scholium strongly implies that his punishment preceded Julia's exile, and since in Suetonius (*Aug.* 19) his treason is linked with that of Plautius Rufus, generally identified with the Publius Rufus who in A.D. 6 conspired against Augustus (Dio LV. 27. 2), A.D. 6 would seem to be the date indicated for it. And considerable plausibility is given this view by the arguments of T. D. Barnes,¹⁹ who emphasizes the significance of Augustus's refusal to allow the exiled Julia to rear the child with whom she was pregnant:²⁰ Augustus plainly believed the child to have been illegitimately conceived, hence the charge of adultery was no false accusation; and this, in turn, means that Julia's husband, Paullus, had long been absent from Rome; finally, it was probably the pregnancy, the visible sign of Julia's condition, hardly to be concealed from the public gaze, that caused the whole scandal to explode.

¹⁷Frances Norwood, "The Riddle of Ovid's *Relegatio*," *Classical Philology* 58 (1963), pp. 150-63.

¹⁸Syme (above, note 5), pp. 208 ff.

¹⁹T. D. Barnes, "Julia's Child," *Phoenix* 35 (1981), pp. 362-63.

²⁰Suetonius, *Aug.* 65. 4: *Ex nepte Iulia post damnationem editum infantem agnoscere aliquo vetuit.*

Ovid must have known of Julia's pregnancy when he visited Cotta Maximus on Elba, for his statements in *Trist.* IV. 4 and *Pont.* II. 3 constitute a frank acknowledgment of complicity over a period, irreconcilable with opinions that his mistake was "probably trivial enough"²¹ or that all he did was to "attend a party where Julia enjoyed herself with her lover."²²

Junius Silanus

It is sometimes urged that Ovid's involvement in a pro-Julian plot would better explain the fate of Julia's lover, Junius Silanus. He was, it will be remembered, allowed to go into voluntary exile (and not compelled, like Ovid, to make some distant part of barbarity his permanent abode). Furthermore, on Tiberius's accession, his brother Marcus was able to plead, and plead successfully, for his recall. Here certainly is a difference, but surely one capable of being accounted for.²³ Augustus's special animosity against Ovid is adequately explained by the latter's immoral verse and the pander's role he played, and it may well have been kept alive by his perpetual whining, whereas Silanus, for all his adultery, had the sense to accept exile and keep quiet. By Tiberius's accession, however, Silanus's position had altered: the new emperor had no grudge against him, for after all he had been the means of disgracing and banishing one of the Julian blood and consequentially securing his own succession. Ovid's position had not similarly improved: his poems convict him of being a corrupter, and there is no reason to believe Tiberius took a different view from Augustus.

It is often urged that Ovid's crime was somehow a crime against Tiberius or Livia, and that he knew that the moment Augustus died his cause was lost. At first sight this view might seem to draw support from *Pont.* IV. 6. 15-16 "Augustus had begun to pardon the fault I committed unintentionally; but he has deserted at once my hopes and the world (*spem nostram terras deseruitque simul*)."²⁴ But only at first sight. This is simply a conventional expression of grief at the death of the emperor, and is naturally heightened by the hypothesis (for which there is not a scrap of evidence) that Augustus was on the point of pardoning him. True, Ovid ceases petitioning soon after Tiberius's accession; but the fact is that he ceases to write altogether about this time. We have nothing of his for the last two or three years of his life and cannot dismiss the possibility that he was incapacitated by a terminal

²¹Syme, *Roman Revolution*, p. 468.

²²Barnes (above, note 19), p. 363.

²³Cf. Dyer (above, note 12), p. 246.

illness.

But the *coup de grâce* to the conspiracy theory is dealt by Ovid's denial of it. "I am not accused of following rebellious arms" (*Trist.* II. 51) and "Caesar's life was not sought by me in an attempt to overturn the world" (*Trist.* III. 5. 45) are excuses confidently offered in mitigation of some other charge, and that charge, therefore, cannot be conspiracy.

Causa peroratast. Let me conclude at the point from which I started. I prefer as more likely to approximate to the truth the theory which is based on the natural interpretation of the evidence. Julia being exiled for adultery, I shrink from arguing that she was really exiled for something else; and if Ovid was exiled jointly for writing the *Ars Amatoria* and for committing a transgression, again I seek to explain his exile in terms of that joint indictment. Nevertheless, confident as I am of the correctness of the explanation here put forward, I realize that for many it will leave the mystery of Ovid's exile mysterious still, presenting the classical detective with an unsolved puzzle as fresh and challenging as ever.

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The Text of St. Prosper's *De Providentia Dei*

MIROSLAV MARCOVICH

Carmen de Providentia Dei (972 lines) is an inspired, learned, elaborate and important Christian ethical poem, written in Gaul ca. A.D. 416. The theme of Divine Providence was suggested by a contemporary catastrophe: for ten years Gaul had been suffering from the devastation inflicted by the Vandals and Goths (*caede decenni / Vandalicis gladiis sternimur et Geticis*, 33 f.). Now, in his Proem, consisting of 48 elegiac couplets, the poet gives the floor to some anonymous contemporary "unbelievers" (*infida corda*, 90), who question God's care for mankind, among other arguments, on the ground that so many *innocent* people — children, virgins, widows, hermits and priests — have been suffering death, violence and slavery at the hands of the barbarian Vandals and Goths (39-60). In addition, the entire history of mankind witnesses to the fact that the unjust and wicked, far from being punished, always have been prosperous and rewarded (63-86).

Consequently, the poet feels it his (pastoral ?) duty to embark on an extensive, learned and elaborate philosophical refutation of these and similar charges against Divine Providence (98-896), while forcefully arguing that the Creator *does* care for his Creation — and most especially for his "image and likeness," Man — as has been sufficiently manifested by the incarnation of the redeeming Logos, Christ.¹

In a kind of ring-composition, the poet returns to contemporary Gaul in his Conclusion (897-972): within his Providence, God sends

¹Compare *De Prov.* 464-66 (*Christus*) *miscetur conditioni / humanae et Verbum caro fit rerumque Creator / nascitur*; 492-93 *Sed novus e caelis per sacrae Virginis alvum / natus homo est*; to Prosper *De ingr.* 891-92 *Verbum homo fit rerumque Sator sub conditione / servilis formae dignatur Virgine nasci*. Incidentally, compare *De Prov.* 519 *Iustitia* (i.e., *Christus*) *iniustus cedit*, *Sapientia* *brutis*, to *De ingr.* 894-95 *Sapientia ludificatur, / Iustitia iniustos tolerat*; and *De Prov.* 480-81 *morsque subactum [sc. me] / detinet*, to *De ingr.* 531-32 *morsque subactum / detineat*.

suffering to mankind either to correct sinners or to put true Christians to a test. The poet's final appeal to his plaintive Gallic compatriots is both emotional and inspiring:

- 913 At tu, qui squalidos agros desertaque defles
atria et exustae proscenia diruta villae,
915 nonne magis propriis posses lacrimas dare damnis,
si potius vastata tui penetralia cordis²
inspiceres multaque obiectum sorde decorem
grassantesque hostes captivae mentis in arce?...
925 Hos igitur cineres templorum, haec busta potentum,
quae congesta iacent populati cordis in aula,³
plangamus, captiva manus! Nos splendida quondam
vasa Dei, nos almae arae et sacraria Christi,
in quibus argentum eloquii, virtutis et aurum,
930 et sceptrum captum est crucis, et diadema decoris.

The authorship of the *De Providentia* is controversial. In the best monograph dedicated to the poem so far, M. P. McHugh (1964) states: "The weight of opinion remains against ascribing authorship to Prosper."⁴ Nevertheless, I would tentatively side with Max Manitius (1888-1891),⁵ Abbé L. Valentin (1900),⁶ and Rudolf Helm (1957),⁷ in believing that the author of our poem is the young Prosper of Aquitaine. My reasoning is as follows. In view of the striking coincidences between *De Providentia* and the works known to be by St. Prosper (especially his poem *De ingratis*),⁸ there can be little doubt that the author of *De ingratis* (composed ca. A.D. 429-430) had made use of *De Providentia* (composed ca. A.D. 416). Now, I think that an author of the

²Cf. Prudentius *Hamartigenia* 543 *cordis penetralia*.

³Cf. Prosper *De ingr.* 375 *cordis in aula*. Compare also *De Prov.* 971-72 *ab alvo / cordis* ("from the depths of the heart") to *De ingr.* 582 *cordis in alvo*; *De Prov.* 941 *sed si quis superest animi vigor*, to *De ingr.* 584 *hinc animi vigor obtusus*; *senex* ("bishop") at *De Prov.* 59 = *De ingr.* 187.

⁴*The Carmen de Providentia Dei Attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine: A Revised Text With an Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. (Diss. The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies, XCVIII, Washington, D.C., 1964), p. 18; cf. p. 17 n. 37.

⁵*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 39 (1888), pp. 580-84; *SB Wien, Philos.-hist. Classe* 117 (1889), XII, pp. 20 ff.; 121 (1890), VII, p. 14; *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Poesie bis zur Mitte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1891), pp. 171-80.

⁶*Saint Prosper d'Aquitaine, étude sur la littérature latine ecclésiastique au V^e siècle en Gaule* (Thèse Bordeaux, Toulouse-Paris 1900).

⁷*RE* 23 (1957), pp. 884-87, s.v. Prosper Tiro.

⁸Such as, e.g., this one: *De Prov.* 880-81 *cumque Deus medicam caelo demittere curam / dignatur penitusque putres abscondere fibras...* against Prosper *Epigrammata* 42. 9-10 *Inque putres fibras descendat cura medentis, / ut blandum morbum pellat amica salus* (pointed out by Manitius in 1890; compare also his *Geschichte*, p. 171 nn. 2-3).

renown of St. Prosper simply could not have borrowed so freely from a *contemporary* compatriot poet from Gaul without running the risk of being exposed as a plagiarist. The most likely assumption then is that St. Prosper is the author of both poems.

As for the alleged Pelagianism (attested in written form since A.D. 412) in *De Providentia*,⁹ if it is present at all, it is best explained by Prosper's early stage of theological development — in contrast to his anti-Pelagian Augustinianism, expressed in his *Epistola ad Rufinum* and especially in his *De ingratis* (1002 lines), some ten to thirteen years later (A.D. 426-430): compare the similar intellectual evolution of his great model, St. Augustine.

In any case, Hincmar of Rheims, who in the ninth century quotes a total of 78 lines from *De Providentia*, knows the work as belonging to St. Prosper.¹⁰ So do the *editio princeps* of our poem (along with the *Opera* of St. Prosper),¹¹ and the only extant manuscript-fragment of the poem, *Cod. Mazarinensis* 3896 (ca. 1535).

For the content of the poem, as was to be expected, the author draws heavily on the Old and New Testaments. He also clearly stands under the spell of Virgil, Ovid, and Prudentius, as M. P. McHugh has shown convincingly.¹² The influence of St. Augustine seems still to be minimal.¹³

The present paper, however, is concerned only with *the text* of the poem. There are special reasons for this concern. The manuscripts of *De Providentia* are lost, so that we have to rely on two original editions of the works of St. Prosper — the Lyons edition of 1539 by Sébastien Gryphe, and the Maurist edition of 1711 by J. B. Le Brun des Mariettes and Luc Urbain Mangeant,¹⁴ which has been reprinted by J.-P. Migne,

⁹Pelagian influence upon the *De Providentia* was first maintained by Jean Soteaux and Jean Hassels, in their Louvain Reprint (1565) of the Lyons edition (1539).

¹⁰Hincmar of Rheims, *De praedestinatione dissertatio posterior*, in J.-P. Migne, *P.L.* 125, 442 B-C and 445 A-D. Hincmar quotes *De Prov.* 219-40 (omitting by mistake 221 *quo plus* — 222 *suis*); 448-57; 467-72; 497-501 (*et in libro Contra Eutychem*); 550-57 (*et in libro Contra Nestorium*); 651-54 (*et in libro Contra Mathematicos*); 659-63 (*et paulo post*); 777-94 (*et in libro Contra Epicureos*); finally, 951-54 (*et post aliquanta*).

¹¹*Divi Prosperi Aquitanici, Episcopi Regiensis, Opera, accurata vetustiorum exemplarium collatione per viros eruditos recognita* (Lyons 1539).

¹²*Op. cit.* (*supra*, n. 4), pp. 24-28; 52-84; 89-100, and in his Commentary pp. 310-83.

¹³Cf. L. Valentin (*supra*, n. 6), pp. 793-97. Compare, e.g., *De Prov.* 460 *namque velut speculum mens est*, to Augustine *Tract. in Ev. Ioannis* 14. 7 *speculum mentis*.

¹⁴*Sancti Prosperi Aquitanici...Opera* (Paris 1711).

in his *Patrologia Latina* of 1846.¹⁵ The late *Cod. Mazarinensis* 3896, f. 162^r-167^v (ca. 1535),¹⁶ comprises a total of 340 lines (out of 972), and is of no value, since it goes back to the exemplar of the Lyons edition. In his 1964 doctoral dissertation, M. P. McHugh exhaustively explored the biblical and poetical sources of *De Providentia*, as well as its diction, style and metrics. His "revised" edition, however, virtually reprints Migne's text and shows little sensitivity to textual criticism.¹⁷ Hence the need for a closer look at the text of this remarkable poem.¹⁸

*

* *

(1)

- 1 Maxima pars lapsis abiit iam mensibus anni,
 quo scripta est versu pagina nulla tuo.
 quae tam longa tibi peperere silentia causae?
 quisve dolor maestum comprimit ingenium?
 5 quamquam et iam¹⁹ gravibus non absint carmina curis,
 et proprios habeant tristia corda modos;
 ac si te fracti perstringunt vulnera mundi,
 turbatumque una si rate fert pelagus,
 invictum deceat studiis servare vigorem.
 10 cur mansura pavent, si ruitura cadunt?

McHugh translates 5 f.: "But let us not be without poems even now in our grievous cares; let our sad hearts find their proper expression." I think this is wrong. 5 *quamquam* implies, "although it is normal for a poet to write poetry even in distress," and is employed with subjunctive (5 f. *non absint* and *habeant*) just as at 295 *quamquam...regnaret* and 805 *sed quamquam...servet*. Consequently, verses 3-6 form one single sentence, and we should punctuate as follows: 3 *causae*, 4 *ingenium*, and 6 *modos*? The same concessive force is expressed in 7 *si* against 9 *deceat*. In brief, a poet — and especially a

¹⁵*P.L.* 51 (1846 = 1861), 617-38.

¹⁶The manuscript was first used by M. P. McHugh (cf. his pp. 2 ff.). It contains *De Prov.* 105-520 with the omission of 121-46; 156-74; 191-211; 267-77.

¹⁷McHugh's only emendation is 426 *gladios destringit* for *distringit* (omnes). In addition, he corrected the misprints of the Maurists or Migne, e.g.: 237 / *vis promat* for the correct *premat*; 377 *si* for *sic*; 633 *quam vim consueverit auris* / (Migne) for *conseverit*. On the other hand, McHugh introduced new misprints: 61 / *verum haec belli* for *verum haec cum belli*; 562 *inter* for *iter*.

¹⁸I quote the Latin text as printed in McHugh (1964, *supra*, n. 4), while "Gryphius" stands for the Lyons edition of 1539 (*supra*, n. 11), and "the Maurists" for the Paris edition of 1711 (*supra*, n. 14).

¹⁹The Maurists are right in suggesting *etiam* ("even") for *et iam*.

Christian poet — is expected to preserve his inner peace and compose, and write poetry even amidst external calamities.

(2)

- 100 Sed quoniam rudibus metus est intrare profundum,
in tenui primum discant procurrare rivo,
qua iacet extremo tellus circumdata ponto,
et qua gens hominum diffusa est corpore mundi.
seu nostros annos, seu tempora prisca revolvās,
105 esse omnes sensere Deum, nec defuit ulli
Auctorem natura docens; et si impius error
amisit, multis tribuens quod debuit uni,
innatum est cunctis Genitorem agnoscere verum.

First, lines 100-101 comprise one sentence ending with *rivo*, where a period should be printed: "The masses of uninstructed Christians are afraid to enter upon the depths of the Holy Scriptures, and have first to learn to make progress in the shallow stream of the poet's summary instruction." The same image is employed in the conclusion of the poem (969-72), where the uninstructed (*rudes*) are advised to drink from the *fountain* (*fons*) of the poet's small book (*parvus libellus*), before being able to pour forth entire *rivers* (*ipsi profunderent flumina*) of Christian doctrine.

With verse 102 a new sentence begins, ending with 108 *verum*. Accordingly, punctuate 103 *mundi*, and understand the sentence 103-08 as expressing the old Stoic (and Epicurean) idea: "Nature has imprinted the idea (either *ἐννοια* or *πρόληψις*) of God in the soul of every man and people of all times and places." The idea is best expressed by Cicero *N.D.* 1. 43:

Solus [sc. Epicurus] enim vidit primum esse deos, quod in omnium animis eorum notionem impressisset ipsa natura. Quae est enim gens aut quod genus hominum, quod non habeat sine doctrina anticipationem quamdam deorum...? (Cf. A. S. Pease *ad loc.* and 2. 12; *Tusc.* 1. 30; *Legg.* 1. 24.)

Second, verses 102-03 seem to express the idea, "both the uncivilized savages (*extremo tellus circumdata ponto*) and the civilized world (*gens hominum diffusa...corpore mundi*)," as is the case, e.g., in Cicero *Legg.* 1. 24 (...in hominibus nulla gens est neque tam mansueta neque tam fera, quae non...deum...habendum sciat), or in Plato *Legg.* X, 886 a 4 (ὅτι πάντες Ἕλληνες τε καὶ βάρβαροι νομίζουσιν εἶναι θεούς), or else in Clement *Strom.* V. 133. 9. Consequently, we should probably read 102 *quae...tellus* and 103 *quae gens hominum*. I think *qua* with *iacet tellus* (102) and *qua* with *corpore mundi* is unconvincing

(Lucan I. 16 ff. is no parallel). For the scribal error *a* for *e* (both written as almost identical in some scripts), compare 403 *quaque gradum illaesae* (Gryphius : *illaesa* Maurists) *tulerant tot milia plebis* and *infra*, Nos. 7 and 8.

Third, in verse 107 read *ammisit* for *amisit*. For, pagan religions did not lose entirely the idea of God: they only *became* guilty (or committed the error) of attributing to one part of the Creation — such as the Sun, Stars, Fire, Water — the divine power belonging to the Creator alone. Compare 25 *quo scelere admisso...*? As for the idea, compare 616 *Auctorem et Dominum rerum, non facta, colentes*; Prosper *De ingratiss* 879 *et factis haesit, Factore relicto*; and NT *Rom.* 1:25 *καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα*.

(3)

- 147 ...scire datum, quod alit tellus, quod in aequore vivi,
quidquid in arboribus, quidquid variatur in herbis,
in laudem auctoris, certis subsistere causis.
150 at quae sola nocent, eadem collata mederi.

Read 149 f.: *in laudem Auctoris certis subsistere causis, / et quae....* For, verse 150 is a continuation of the idea from verse 149, "there are definite reasons for the creation of every given creature." *Collata* (150), "if brought together," refers to the idea expressed at 134-35, *denique quidquid obest, aut causa aut tempore verso, / prodest*, and reflects Heraclitean ideas — such as, e.g., fr. 44 Marcovich [fr. 111 Diels-Kranz], *νοῦσος ὑγιείην ἐποίησεν ἡδὺ καὶ ἀγαθόν, λιμὸς κόρον, κάματος ἀνάπανσιν*, — transmitted through such a Stoic source as Pseudo-Aristotle *De mundo*, c. 5.

On the contrary, at 749 *at* should be read for the transmitted *et*:

- 747 ...vellesne per omnes
ultricem culpas descendere Iudicis iram?
et quo magnanimi clemens patientia Regis
750 distaret saeva immitis feritate tyranni?

(4)

- 187 ...quam [sc. vim Dei] non effugiant cita, nec²⁰ remorantia
tardent;
quae numquam ignara, numquam longinqua, nec ullis
translata accedens regionibus, absit ab ullis,

²⁰187 *non...nec* speaks in favor of the Maurists' reading in 110, *et immensum* [sc. *Deum*] *non saecula nec loca claudunt*, against Gryphius' *nec...nec*, adopted by McHugh.

190 nec de noscendis egeat manifesta doceri.

The poet speaks of the Divine Omnipresence. He is not free from Stoic influence (see *ad* No. 20). In line 189 *accedens* read *ac cedens*. Incidentally, 190 *manifesta* has the rare sense of "being informed," = *certa*. Compare 911 *manifestus honoris / promissi*, and Ennodius *Epist.* II. 19. 2 *pater de explorata...virtute fili manifestus* (B : *securus* cett.) *Th.L.L.* VIII. 310. 69 f.

(5)

267 Quod si quis non totus homo haec extendere verbis
me putet, et nondum sese cognovit in istis,
audiat a primis...

"But if anyone is so dull that he thinks that I am exaggerating these things..." translates McHugh. But, so far as I know, *non totus homo* nowhere means "a dull man." *Quod* ("for"), at the opening of a new paragraph, is not likely either. I think *quod* and *totus* are corruptions of *queis* and *tutus*, respectively: "If anyone, not being convinced (assured) by my previous arguments, thinks...."

The poet employs *queis* for *quibus* at 144, 333, and 286 / *queis*, and the corruption may have been the product of a "redactor" who was annoyed by the phrase, *queis si quis*, and changed it into *quod si quis*. As for the error *totus* for *tutus*, it may have been induced by the vicinity of three *o* vowels: *non totus homo*. Whatever may be the case, the same rhetorical introductory formula is employed by our poet at:

208 ac ne vaniloqui spondere *incerta* putemur,
res monet a primis aperire....

(6)

300 ...non prius a primi vinclo absolvenda parentis
[sc. natura hominis],
quam maiestate incolumi generatus in ipsa,
destrueret leti causas et semina Christus,
cuius perpetuam cunctis assistere curam
promptum est exemplis ab origine nosse petitis.
305 non latet hanc sanctis onerans altaria sacris
iustus Abel, qui primitiis ovium grege lectis
convertit Domini sincera in munera vultum.

A period should be put after 302 *Christus*. 303 *Cuius* refers not to Christ but to God (= 307 *Domini...vultum*; 274 *Domini*; 278 *Deus*). Consequently, a *lacuna* should be indicated between verses 302 and

303. The lost text probably linked God's care for Man to the salvific incarnation of the Son.

(7)

- 308 Nec fallit [sc. Dei curam] specie devota religionis
dona Cain reprobanda dicans, cui virus amarum
invidia in fratrem succenso felle coquebat.

Read 308 *specie devotae religionis*. Cain only displays a pretence of true religion. Compare 47 *honor...devotae virginitatis*. / For the scribal error *a : e*, compare Nos. 2 and 8.

(8)

- 329 An aberat tum cura Dei, cum effusa per omnes
330 gens hominum culpas, penitus pietate relictā,
dira toris vetitis generaret monstra gigantas? [Gen. 6:4]
illa quidem mundi exitium praefata futurum
tempora larga dedit, queis in meliora reducti
mortales scelerum seriem virtute piaerant.

Read in 332 *Ille* (sc. *Deus*) for *illa*. It answers the question of 32 *An aberat tum cura Dei, cum...?* For *ille* referring to God, compare 132 *cum Sator ille*; 175 *ille manet*. The same idea of God's patience with mankind recurs at 350-52.

(9)

- 366 ... dumque piis traducta dolis Hebraea iuventus
gaudet adoratum venia cognoscere fratrem.

Using the trick of placing a silver goblet in Benjamin's sack and then forcing his brothers to return to his house, Joseph was able to make himself known to them (*Gen.* 44:1-45:8). They rejoice in recognizing their own lost brother, who proves (*Gen.* 45:5) to possess *the gift of forgiveness* for having been sold in slavery by his own brothers. Consequently, read 367 *ador< n>atum venia...fratrem*.

(10)

- 385 Nam iubet [sc. Deus] electum Pharaoni edicere Mosen,
ut sinat Aegypto Domini discedere plebem;
ni faciat, multis plectenda superbia plagis,
sentiet excitam quae regni vis habet iram.
ille quidem quoties patitur caelestia tela,
390 cedit, et obsequium simulat....

The Lord commands Moses to tell Pharaoh to let the Hebrews leave Egypt. If he disobeys this order, Egypt will be punished by the ten plagues (*Exodus* 6:10-11; 7:3-4). In verse 388, however, there is a major corruption, as L. Valentin (pp. 830 n. 2; 845) had noticed. The Latin text cannot yield the sense required by McHugh's translation of 387 ff.: "If the king should not do so, many blows would be struck to his pride and he would experience the full force of the sovereign power whose wrath he had aroused."

Now, I would take 387 *superbia* ("Pharaoh's arrogance") to be the subject of 388 *sentiet*, and suggest the following reading:

387 ni faciat, multis plectenda superbia plagis
 sentiet excitam, quam Regis vim habet,²¹ iram.

I.e., *sentiet excitam Dei iram, quam vim habet*. Compare *Exodus* 7:5, "...so that the Egyptians may learn that I am *the Lord*, as I stretch out *my hand* against Egypt." Elsewhere in the poem, the author employs the word *regnum* as referring not to the Kingdom of God but to the kingdoms of mortals (234; 356; 447; 809). As for the corruption, *quae...vis*, for the suggested *quam...vim*, either a scribe was confused by the construction (with four accusatives), or he simply mistook the abbreviation \bar{q} (*quam*) for \bar{q} (*quae*), with the ensuing makeshift *quae...vis*.

(11)

432 Ergo omnes una in vita cum lege creati
 venimus, et fibris gerimus quae condita libris.

McHugh's translation seems to me nonsensical: "Thus we have all been created in one life together with the law, and in our hearts we carry what is preserved in books." Read: *in vita <m>*. I.e., *Ergo omnes una cum lege creati in vitam venimus*, "All men come to this world being created (by God) to bear in their hearts one single (divine) law." Compare 223, *inque unam coeunt... vitam*; 587 *mundum ingressi*.

(12)

439 ...cum tamen et quoscumque eadem sub sacra liceret
 440 ire, nec externos arcerent limina templi;
 cumque Dei monitu canerent ventura prophetae,
 saepe etiam ad varias gentes sint multa locuti.
 Sic regina Austri cupidis, Salomonis ab ore,

²¹The monosyllable *vim*, as a "mot à sens plein," is rarely elided in Latin poetry: Jean Soubiran, *L'élision dans la poésie latine* (Paris 1966), p. 402.

- auribus eloquium Domini venerata trahebat.
445 Sic Ninive monitis Ioniae sub tempore cladis
credidit...

The doors of the Jewish temple, says the poet, were not closed to *strangers*, and Jewish prophets often spoke to *foreign* peoples as well, such as the Queen of Sheba, the citizens of Nineveh, etc. Now, either both *cum* (439 and 441) are concessive, "although" (*cum tamen...liceret ire, nec...arcerent...*, *cumque...sint multa locuti*),²² or the second one is a *cum historicum*, "and whenever" (*cumque...canerent*). Whatever may be the case, the text seems to be corrupt. If the former assumption is true, we should read 441-42:

cumque Dei monitu ventura canendo²³ prophetae
saepe etiam ad varias gentes sint multa locuti.

And if the latter is true, then we should correct 442 *sint* into *sunt*. I prefer the latter solution, as being less violent.

(13)

- 473 Sed tu qui geminam naturam hominisque Deique
convenisse vides angusti in tramitis ora,
475 firma tene cautus vestigia, ne trepidantem
alterutram in partem, propellat devius error:
si cernens operum miracula divinorum,
suspicias sine carne Deum; cumve omnia nostri
corporis agnoscas, hominem sine numine credas.

478 *suspicias* Maurists, Migne, McHugh: *suscipias* Cod. Mazarinensis, Gryphius. The latter reading is to be preferred. For, the clause, "It is an error to *accept* (*suscipias*) Christ's divinity without his humanity," corresponds exactly to the opposite error, expressed in the next clause, "to *believe* (479 *credas*) in his humanity without the divinity." *Suscipias* means much the same as *credas*. On the contrary, *suspicias* would mean, "honor, admire" — as at 613-15, *non mare, non caelum, non ignem, aut sidera caeli / ... / suspexere deos* —, which is beside the point here.

It is worth mentioning that Migne (in 1846) makes the same error (or rather misprint) at 947, *aversos revocans et suspiciens conversos*, for

²²For the concessive *cum* in *De Prov.*, compare 220-22, ...*cumque omnia Verbo / conderet* [sc. *Deus*], *hunc* [sc. *hominem*] *manibus, quo plus Genitoris haberet, / dignatur formare suis*; 556 f., ...*et cum recta queas discernere pravis, / deteriora legis*; 635 f., *qui* [sc. *Deus*] *cum sincerus sit fons aequique bonique, / innitem...legem praescripsit*.

²³*O* in the ablative of the gerund is short in medieval Latin poetry, as in our poet (five times): cf. McHugh (*supra*, n. 4), pp. 188; 186 n. 20; 187 n. 21.

the correct *suscipiens*.

(14)

- 484 cuius [sc. Christi] maiestas stabilis non hoc violatur,
485 quo redimor; neque se minor est, cum mutor in illo.

Valentin's emendation of *in illo* into *in illum* should be accepted in view of 206-07:

nota via est, Christo cunctis reserante magistro,
qui vocat, et secum nos deducturus, et **in se**...

or of 966-67, *ut non humanis fidens homo, totus in illum* [sc. *Christum*] / *se referat*.

(15)

- 555 "Cur volo quae mala sunt, et cur quae sunt bona nolo?"
liber es; sed cum recta queas discernere pravis,
deteriora legis, placitisque improvidus haeres.

556 *liber es; sed* is unmetrical. Hincmar of Rheims (IX century), however, our oldest witness for the text of the poem (see note 10), has *liber es, et cum*, and that is the correct reading: *esset* (or *essed*) for *eset* is an easy scribal error. Gryphius' *libere sed* is a makeshift.

(16)

- 587 Sed mundum ingressi variis rerum speciebus
suscipimur, mentemque adeunt quaecumque videntur,
iudicio censenda hominis...
597 Magno ergo haec homini sunt discernenda periclo,
ne nimium trepidus nullum procedat in aequor,
neu vagus effusis sine lege feratur habenis.
600 Est etenim sanctus rerum usus, quem cohibentes
intra modum numeri, et momentum ponderis aequi,
pro cunctis soli Domino reddemus honorem.

Read in 602 *reddamus* (and compare 596 *iudicio censenda*; 597 *sunt discernenda*): Man *must* pay honor to God, no matter whether he exercises good judgment and shows moderation or not. For the scribal error *e* : *a*, compare ad Nos. 2, 7, 8. McHugh's translation seems to me wrong: "... and if we keep our use of them [sc. things] within the bounds of moderation and observe a true balance, then we shall return honor to God alone for everything."

(17)

- 624 Sed quo te praeceps rapit orbita? vis bonus esse
 625 absque labore tuo? credis hoc cedere posse,
 si tibi mutantur natalia sidera, quorum
 te pravum decursus agit?...[*Contra Mathematicos*]

625 *credis hoc*: versus claudicat. Read: *credis*<que> *hoc*.

(18)

- 665 Cumque haec intus [sc. homine] agi prospexit
 callidus hostis [i.e., Satan],
 de studiis vestris vires capit, utque Parentis
 avertat veri cultum, persuadet ab astris
 fata seri, frustra homines contendere divis.

666 *vestris*: read *nostris*, and compare 658-60, *Verum si quid obest virtuti*,... / *non superi pariunt ignes*,... / *sed nostris oritur de cordibus*; 661, *et quatimur civilibus armis* / ("we are battered by internal strife").

(19)

- 689 Nullum ergo in nos est permissum ius elementis
 690 in quae ius hominis; nec possunt condere legem,
 quae legem accipiunt.

Read in 690: *in quae* <est> *ius hominis*.

(20)

- 729 Quid usquam
 730 dissidet a prisco divisum foedere rerum?
 Sic interiecta solis revocatur in ortum
 nocte dies, idem est lunae astrorumque recursus,
 et relegunt notas subeuntia tempora metas;
 non aliter venti spirant, ita nubibus imber;
 735 laeta negant, servantque genus trudentia flores
 semina quaeque suum; nec abest ab origine rerum
 ordo manens, isdem subsistunt omnia causis.
 Quae nisi perpetui solers prudentia Regis
 astrueret, molemque omnem spirando foveret,
 740 conciderent subita in nihilum redigenda ruina.

As Valentin (p. 830 n. 2) pointed out, line 735 is corrupt, and McHugh (p. 362 f.) is not convincing when defending the text as transmitted while translating: "Flowers withhold their joyous seeds and preserve them, so that each burgeons into its own kind."

The sense, however, can be restored at a minimal palaeographic cost, by reading *leta* for *laeta*. Construe: *Semina negant leta servantque genus quaeque suum trudentia flores*, "Seeds refuse to die, and by sending forth flowers they preserve each its own kind." For the plural *leta* ("death") in Christian poetry, compare *Inscr. Christ.* Rossi II, p. 71. 40a. 17, *hic novus antiquum iecit ad leta draconem*; II, p. 296. 10. 2 (*Th.L.L.* VII. 1190. 19, 1191. 51).

Incidentally, it is worth mentioning that in the idea of verse 739 — *molemque omnem spirando foveret*, God preserves the entire mass of the universe by constantly fostering it with his *spirit* — our poet seems to combine the Stoic Πνευματικός Λόγος with *Genesis* 1:1 καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπέφερετο ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος. If my assumption is correct, then he is only following the trend first established by Theophilus of Antioch (ca. A.D. 180), who evidently combines *Genesis* 1:1 with the Stoic "all-pervading spirit": *Ad Autolycum* 2. 4, ἄλλοι δ' αὖ τὸ δι' ὅλου κεχωρηκὸς πνεῦμα θεὸν δογματίζουσιν. 2. 13, πνεῦμα δέ, "τὸ ἐπιφερόμενον ἐπάνω τοῦ ὕδατος," ... ὅπως τὸ μὲν πνεῦμα τρέφῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ σὺν τῷ πνεύματι τρέφῃ τὴν κτίσιν διικνούμενον πανταχόσε.²⁴

The same Stoic "all-pervading spirit" (πνεῦμα διήκον διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου) is detectable at *De Prov.* 183-84:

Sed nusquam non esse Dei est, qui totus ubique,
et penetrat mundi membra omnia liber et ambit...

or at 450, *neve quod in parte est, in toto quis neget esse*,²⁵ and elsewhere.

(21)

755 Sic mundi meta abruptis properata fuisset
temporibus, neque in subolem generanda veniret
posteritas, pariter cum iustos atque nocentes
aut promissus honos aut poena auferret ab orbe.

756 *neque* is unmetrical (compare verse 485, quoted at No. 14). Read: *nec <iam> in subolem*, and compare 503 f. *nec... / iam*; 543 f. *nec iam diversa, sed unum / sunt duo*. For the elision of *iam*, compare 767-68: *ut quondam fecere, colens, iam errore parentum / abiecto....Iam* was

²⁴On this passage compare M. Marcovich, *JCS* 4 (1979), pp. 79 ff. (No. 23).

²⁵In his account of the creation of the universe (113-29), and of man (212-23), our poet is strongly dependent on Ovid *Metam.* I. 7-9; 15-20, and I. 69-86, respectively, as Manilius [*supra*, n. 5 (1888), pp. 581 ff., and (1891), pp. 173 n. 1; 174 n. 1] and Valentin (894) had pointed out (cf. McHugh 69-72). Ovid's cosmogony is eclectic, but clear traces of Posidonius' *Stoicism* are detectable: compare Franz Bömer's Commentary on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* I-III (Heidelberg 1969), pp. 15 ff. (with excellent literature).

mistakenly dropped in the cluster, *nec iam in*.

(22)

- 791 At qui persistunt errori incumbere longo,
 quamvis in multis vitiis impune senescant,
 in saevum finem venient; ibi non erit ulla
 spes veniae, minimo ad poenam quadrante vocando.

793 *in saevum finem venient, ubi* would be better Latin, and that is exactly what we read in Hincmar of Rheims (IX century). There can be little doubt that *saevus finis* refers to the Last Judgment, as it becomes clear from the phrase of 794, *minimo ad poenam quadrante vocando*, where “the last farthing” clearly alludes to NT *Matthew* 5:26, ἄμην λέγω σοι, οὐ μὴ ἐξέλθῃς ἐκεῖθεν ἕως ἄν ἀποδώῃς τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην.

(23)

- 795 Nos etenim quoties causa quacumque movemur,
 vindictam celerem cupimus, quia rara facultas
 non patitur laesis tempus transire nocendi.

Read in 797 *laesos* (accusative with infinitive after *patitur*): “The rare opportunity does not allow the victims of a wrongdoing to miss their chance of doing harm.” Compare 375, *iusti patiantur iniquos*; 820, *sic iniustorum iustos mala ferre necesse est*.

(24)

- 833 Et per inane piis gradus est: cibus alite serva
 suggeritur, perditque avidus sua fercula messor.

An angel of God carried the prophet Habakkuk by his hair through the air all the way to Babylon, to bring the lunch (originally prepared for Habakkuk’s reapers in the field) to Daniel in his den (*Daniel* 14:33-39). Now, Habakkuk, as a male, was a “winged servant” (*ales servus*). Consequently, read in 833 *servo* for *serva* (induced by the feminine noun *ales*).

Some Aesopic Fables in Byzantium and the Latin West Tradition, Diffusion, and Survival¹

JOHN-THEOPHANES A. PAPADEMETRIOU

In an interesting paper on Byzantine folktales, beast-fables, and facetious stories the late distinguished student of Byzantine private and public life Ph. I. Koukoules presented five Aesopic² fables (on pp. 223-25), which are narrated by various Byzantine authors. The material presented by Koukoules invites further study from several points of view. Our primary concern will be to study the relation of these fables with the Greek and Latin fable tradition, their diffusion, and when relevant their survival, chiefly in Modern Greek folklore. In the process of this investigation we shall have occasion to explore a few more fables, proverbs and "fable-proverbs."³

The first fable is culled from an oration of Nicephoros Chrysoverges.⁴ Koukoules identifies the fable correctly with no. 361,

¹In addition to the standard abbreviations of Journal titles (see *L'année philologique*) those used most frequently are listed at the end of this study.

²The term "Aesopic" is used to indicate all fables that have the same characteristics as those attributed to Aesop, whether they have reached us under Aesop's name or not. In contrast, the term "Aesopian" is reserved for fables which have come down to us under Aesop's name.

³I am translating thus the Mod. Greek term "παροιμιόμυθος," coined by D. Loukatos to describe the type of proverb that puts a fable or other folk-narrative in capsule form. See Δ. Σ. Λουκάτος, *Νεοελληνικοί Παροιμιόμυθοι*, 1st reprint (actually second edition with substantial additions), Athens 1978, pp. ιθ' - κ'.

⁴See M. Treu, *Nicephori Chrysovergae ad Angelos orationes tres* (Program des Königl. Friedrichs-Gymnasiums zu Breslau, II. Wissenschaftliche Abhandlung), Breslau 1892, Orat. I, p. 5, 12-31.

“Πίθηκοι πόλιν οἰκίζοντες,” in Halm’s edition (= Perry 464, Coraës 367) and cites it in its entirety. The fable as narrated by Chrysoverges is about four times longer and displays much rhetorical adornment in comparison with the short and simple text printed in the fable editions mentioned above. It is remarkable, however, that, though verbiage abounds, no new narrative element is introduced into the fable. Koukoules does not note that the same fable was printed earlier by two other scholars independently, Sp. Lambros and S. Eustratiades. Lambros found the fable outside the manuscript fable collections, namely, in codex *Monacensis Graecus* 201, fol. 61 (dated to the 14th century by Lambros, but to the 13th by Ign. Hardt⁵), but he in turn did not connect it with the fable in Chrysoverges, and edited it in 1910 as an anonymous text.⁶ The version edited by Lambros, however, was composed by Patriarch Gregory of Cyprus⁷ (see next note). In the same year, S. Eustratiades edited the fables composed by Gregory on the basis of a single but complete manuscript.⁸ In Gregory’s version the text of the fable has again undergone rhetorical expansion and adornment, but its wording is independent of the text of Chrysoverges. This is another example of the widespread habit of expansion and adornment of the text which is characteristic of the later Byzantine versions of fables.⁹

⁵*Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, vol. 2, Munich 1806, p. 336.

⁶See Σπ. Π. Λάμπρου, “Συλλογαὶ Αἰσωπείων μύθων,” Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 7 (1910), pp. 49-74 (especially pp. 53 and 73-74 for this fable). In the same study (pp. 54-59) Lambros also edits fifteen fables found in codex 268 of the Dionysiou monastery (dated to the 15th century; see pp. 49-50 and also Σπ. Π. Λάμπρου, Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τοῦ Ἀγίου Ὁρους Ἑλληνικῶν κωδικῶν, vol. 1, Cambridge 1895, no. 3802). Since Lambros was not able to identify all the fables, he supposed that four of them “are entirely new and are not found in all the other collections.” In fact those four fables as well as the remaining eleven come from the fables (Παραδειγματικοὶ λόγοι) of Syntipas; see Perry, pp. 527-28.

⁷It is strange that Lambros was not able to identify the author of this fable and the next one (see immediately below), because it is clear from Hardt’s *Catalogus*, p. 339, that in the codex itself the fables are attributed to Patriarch Gregory; the information provided by the codex is repeated by Hardt in his description of it.

⁸See Σ. Εὐστρατιάδου, Γρηγορίου τοῦ Κυπρίου, Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου, ἐπιστολαὶ καὶ μῦθοι, Alexandria 1910, pp. 216-17, no. 4. Eustratiades’ edition is based on codex *Vindobonensis philologicus Graecus* 195, fols. 85/1^r - 93^v; see H. Hunger, *Katalog der griechischen Handschriften der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, I, Wien 1961, p. 306.

⁹Concerning this tendency of the Byzantines see J.-Th. A. Papademetriou, *Studies in the Manuscript Tradition of Stephanites kai Ichnelates* (Ph.D. dissertation), Urbana, Illinois, 1960, p. 177.

It should be noted that this fable is found also in Syriac and Latin versions. It is incorporated into the Syriac version of the *Fables of Sinbad*¹⁰ and it was translated into Latin by Priscian.¹¹ Finally, the editors of the Aesopic fables¹² relied on only one Greek source, namely, Hermogenes,¹³ but did not note its presence in the Byzantine authors mentioned above, who are about ten centuries later than Hermogenes. In the motif-indices, on the other hand, the motif of the fable is noted,¹⁴ but there is no direct or indirect reference to the above mentioned versions (Byzantine, Syriac and the Latin translation).

On the same page of the Munich codex, another fable of Gregory of Cyprus is included¹⁵ (= Perry 83: Πίθηκος καὶ κάμηλος ὀρχοῦμενοι,¹⁶ Chambry 307, Hausrath/Hunger 85). Its text displays again the same features noted in the other Byzantine fable (= Perry 464). Lambros has also edited this fable (pp. 72-73) as an anonymous text.¹⁷

The second fable in Koukoules' study comes from the *Commentarii* on the *Odyssey*, p. 1769 (not 1679), by the celebrated Archbishop Eustathios of Thessalonike. The text cited by Koukoules is brief and runs as follows: πίθηκος ἦει θηρίων ἀποκριθεὶς μόνος ἀν' ἐσχατιὴν τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀλώπηξ κερδαλέη συνήντετο πυκινὸν ἔχουσα νόον. With some reservations (p. 224) Koukoules identifies the text with Aesop's fable Halm 43 (= Perry 14: Ἀλώπηξ καὶ πίθηκος περὶ εὐγενείας ἐρίζοντες,¹⁸ Chambry 39, Hausrath/Hunger 14, = Babrius

¹⁰See the list of the Syriac codices of the fables of Syntipas in Perry, p. 526.

¹¹See Prisciani, *Praeexercitamina, de Fabula* 3, ed. by M. Hertz in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, vol. 3, Leipzig 1859 (photo-reprint 1961), p. 430 and Coraës, p. 439. Priscian drew on Hermogenes (see below, note 13).

¹²Perry, Halm and Coraës. The fable is not included in the editions of Chambry and of Hausrath/Hunger.

¹³Προγυμνάσματα 1 (Περὶ μύθου), pp. 2,14 - 3,4, ed. H. Rabe, *Hermogenes*, Leipzig 1913 (photo-reprint, Stuttgart 1969).

¹⁴See Thompson, J648.1. and Wienert, pp. 61 (ET 240) and 108 (ST 200).

¹⁵Fable 10 in the edition of S. Eustratiades, p. 221.

¹⁶The motif of the fable is noted in Thompson, J512.3. See also Wienert pp. 46 (ET 47) and 90 (ST 20).

¹⁷See above, note 7. In the other editions of Aesopic fables mentioned so far the version of Gregory is not noted, while in the edition of Eustratiades the text of the Munich codex is not utilized.

¹⁸The fable is also found in the Παραδειγματικοὶ λόγοι of Syntipas (= Perry 14, p. 533, Hausrath/Hunger 14, fasc. 2, pp. 160-61). Concerning the motif of the fable and its classification see Thompson, J954.2. and Wienert, pp. 44 (ET 17) and 100 (ST 140).

81¹⁹). The text of Eustathios, however, does not come from a prose fable, as Koukoules thought; it is part of an epode by Archilochos of Paros (81 Diehl²⁰ = 185 West,²¹ vv. 3-6). The subject of this epode is a beast-fable, and its presence in Eustathios is well known to the editors of Archilochos.²² The epode of Archilochos and its fable were renowned in antiquity as evinced by the numerous ancient references to it, which are, however, almost always merely allusive.²³ As a result, and despite the wealth of ancient evidence, only six verses of the epode have come down to us, which contain too few elements from which the narrative of the fable might be safely deduced. Thus, the identification of the fable with one of those preserved in the fable collections has been a challenge to scholars for a long time,²⁴ and their opinions are divided between two fables, namely Halm 43 and Halm 44 (= Perry 81: Πίθηκος βασιλεὺς αἵρεθεὶς καὶ ἀλώπηξ,²⁵ Chambry 38, Hausrath/Hunger 83).

The third fable comes from *Letter* 116 of Michael Choniates²⁶ and narrates the story of a weasel that became human. When, however, she was a bride, she happened to see a mouse and she immediately

¹⁹References to Babrius' text are to the edition by B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, London-Cambridge, Mass., 1965.

²⁰E. Diehl - R. Beutler, *Anthologia lyrica Graeca*, fasc. 3: *Iamborum scriptores*, 3rd ed., Leipzig 1952.

²¹M. L. West, *Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati*, vol. I, Oxford 1971.

²²See, e.g., the editions of Diehl and West cited above.

²³See, e.g., Plato, *Republic* 365c (ed. J. Burnet) τὴν... τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἀρχιλόχου ἀλώπεκα ἐλκτέον ἐξόπισθεν κερδαλέον καὶ ποικίλην and the parody by Aristophanes in *Acharnians* 119-20. See also the abundant ancient *testimonia* cited by the editors of Archilochos (e.g., the passages cited in West's edition for fragments 185-87 or for the fragments 188-89 and 192 in the edition of G. Tarditi, *Archiloco. Introduzione, testimonianze sulla vita e sull' arte, testo critico, traduzione* (*Lyricorum Graecorum quae extant*, II), Roma 1968).

²⁴See, e.g., the "Dissertatio de fabulis Archilochi" of I. G. Huschke in the edition of Fr. De Furia, *Fabulae Aesopicae...*, Leipzig 1810, pp. 224 ff., Fr. Lasserre, *Les épodes d' Archiloque*, Paris 1950, pp. 110 ff. and the recent bibliography in I.-Θ. A. Παπαδημητρίου, Ἀρχαῖοι Ἑλληνες Λυρικοὶ 2nd ed., Athens 1979, p. 189.

²⁵Although the fact is not noted in the international motif-indices, the fable has survived in Mod. Greek folk-tradition; see Γ. Α. Μέγα, Τὸ ἐλληνικὸ παραμῦθι, fasc. I: Μῦθοι ζώων, (Ἀκαδημία Ἀθηνῶν, Δημοσιεύματα τοῦ Κέντρου Ἑρεῦνης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Λαογραφίας, XIV), Athens 1978, p. 34, no. *45. For the motif and the classification of the fable see Thompson, K730.1. and Wienert, pp. 47 (ET 59), 90 (ST 23), 94 (ST 73), 97 (ST 114). Thompson, however, does not note that the fable is found also in La Fontaine, *Fables* VI, 6 as well as in other French writers discussed in R. Jasinski, *La Fontaine et le premier recueil des "Fables"*, vol. 2, Paris 1966, pp. 292-97.

²⁶Σπ. Π. Λάμπρου, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου, Τὰ Σωζόμενα, vol. 2, Athens 1880 (photo-reprint Groningen 1968), p. 239, 5-18 (not 339, 5 ff.).

attacked and devoured it. Koukoules also notes the presence of the fable in the *Chiliades* of J. Tzetzes,²⁷ in the *Tetrasticha* of Ignatios Diaconos,²⁸ and in Gregory Nazianzen,²⁹ where he also finds a kind of moral: τὸ γὰρ πεφυκὸς οὐ ταχέως μεθίσταται.³⁰ It should be added that the fable is also found in a letter of Emperor Julian the Apostate.³¹ Thus, again the sources that preserve the fable cover an impressively long span of time. According to Koukoules, some distinguished modern Greek scholars have dealt with the fable, namely, Sp. P. Lambros, N. G. Politis, and P. N. Papageorgiou, who believed that the fable was not ancient (Lambros and Papageorgiou), that "it is otherwise unknown" (Papageorgiou) and that "it was composed during Byzantine times" (Politis).³² The fable, however, is neither unknown nor Byzantine; it is certainly ancient and this becomes evident from the Byzantine sources themselves. Julian attributes the fable to Babrius, Tzetzes mentions Aesop explicitly (v. 937: ὥσπερ που γράφει τὴν γαλῆν ὁ Αἴσωπος ἐν μύθοις) and Choniates calls the fable "Aesopian." Indeed, this is the well known ancient fable Γαλῆ καὶ

²⁷P. A. M. Leone, *Ioannis Tzetzae Historiae* (Publicazioni dell' Istituto di Filologia Classica, I), Naples 1968, IV, 939-44.

²⁸Number 39 in the edition of K. F. Müller, *Ignatii Diaconi aliorumque tetrasticha iambica*, which is included in the edition of O. Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae*, Leipzig 1897. As Koukoules notes, Sp. Lambros has edited the poem on the basis of codex 13 of the monastery of Vatopedi in Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 7 (1910) 448, no. 14. There is, however, another edition of the same *tetrastichon* by Sp. Lambros on the basis of cod. 287 (16th cent.) of the Docheiariou monastery in his "Συλλογαὶ Αἰσωπέων μύθων (see above, note 6), pp. 50 and 59, no. 3; see also his *Catalogus*, vol. 1, no. 2961.

²⁹Ἐπη ἱστορικὰ Α'. Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ IB' (Εἰς ἑαυτὸν καὶ περὶ ἐπισκόπων), vv. 701-708, *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne), XXXVII, col. 1217.

³⁰Instead of this moral, in the text of M. Choniates (239, 15-18) we find a reference to Pindar and a quotation (not identified by Lambros) from his *Olymp.* 11, 19-21 (noted by the editors of Pindar).

³¹Number 82 (Ἰουλιανὸς κατὰ τοῦ Νείλου) in the edition J. Bidez, *L' Empereur Julien; oeuvres complètes*, vol. 1, 2, 3rd ed., Paris 1972. Julian depends in part on the Babrian version of the fable (see below, note 34).

³²See Koukoules, p. 224 and note 6 and p. 225 and note 1. Koukoules himself displays some doubts regarding these conclusions (p. 225), because Choniates calls the fable "Aesopian." Papageorgiou cites this fable in his *Συμβολὴς εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν παροιμίαν κεφάλαια τέσσερα*, Athens 1901, p. 67, no. 173, and on page 36 states that the fable is "unknown." Lambros and Politis, however, do not seem to have maintained the views attributed to them by Koukoules (see Lambros' relevant publications above, notes 6, 26, and 28). Koukoules was probably led astray by what Lambros says in one of his studies (above, note 6) with reference to some other fables. With regard to Politis the remark attributed to him refers to another fable, which will be discussed below (the fourth fable in Koukoules' study); see N. Γ. Πολίτου, *Μελέται περὶ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῆς γλώτσης τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ λαοῦ. Παροιμίαι*, vol. 3, Athens 1901 (photo-reprint 1965), pp. 565-66.

'Αφροδίτη (Perry 50, Chambry 76,³³ Hausrath/Hunger 50) of which we also have an ancient rendition in Babrius' *Mythiambos*.³⁴ Furthermore, the fable is found in several vernacular literatures and has been widely studied.³⁵ It has also survived both in the Greek Paroemiographers³⁶ and in Modern Greek folk tradition.³⁷

Michael Choniates is the source, too, of the fourth fable studied by Koukoules.³⁸ It is a fable that Choniates himself calls

³³In Chambry's edition there is also a verse rendition of the fable, different from the ones in Babrius, Gregory and Ignatios.

³⁴Fable 32 in Perry's *Babrius and Phaedrus*.

³⁵See Thompson, J1908.2. and Wienert, pp. 45 (ET 34) and note 6 therein for bibliography, 71 (ET 351), 78 (ET 444) and also pp. 86-87 (ST 1) for a rich commentary. The motif is found also in Italian and Spanish texts as Thompson notes, but its survival in Mod. Greek tradition should also be noted (see below, note 37) as well as its occurrence in French Literature (La Fontaine, II, 18; see also C. R. Jasinski *La Fontaine*, vol. I, Paris 1966, pp. 382-92). The fable, the ancient references to it, and the relevant questions in world literature, have been studied extensively. See, e.g., E. Rohde, "Ein griechisches Märchen," *RhM* 43 (1888), pp. 303-05 = *Kleine Schriften*, vol. 2, Tübingen - Leipzig 1901, pp. 212-15; O. Crusius, "Ueber eine alte Thierfabel," *RhM* 49 (1894), pp. 299-308 (especially, pp. 302-05) and Joh. Hertel, "Altindische Parallelen zu Babrius 32," *ZfV* 22 (1912), pp. 244-52 and the "Nachschrift" on p. 301. See also our next note.

³⁶See E. L. v. Leutsch and F. G. Schneidewin, *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, vol. I, Göttingen 1839, Ζηροβιον, Ἐπιτομή II 93 (see also the relevant note therein) and vol. 2 (1951), M. Ἀποστολίου, Συναγωγή V 21 and 25, XI 89a, where similar proverbs are recorded (see the relevant notes therein). See also D. K. Karathanassis, *Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten des Altertums in den rhetorischen Schriften des Michael Psellos, des Eustathios und des Michael Choniates sowie in anderen rhetorischen Quellen des XII Jahrhunderts*, Lamia [Greece] 1936, pp. 108-09, nos. 228 and 229.

³⁷See Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, *Παροιμιομύθοι*, p. 39, no. 147 (cf. also p. 54, no. 195 and the fable Ὁ Γάτος Χατζής: Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, *Νεοελληνικά λαογραφικά κείμενα*, [Βασική Βιβλιοθήκη, XLVIII], Athens 1957, p. 25, no. 2) and his *Κεφαλοῦντικά Γνωμικά* Athens 1952, p. 93, no. 613. Fables and proverbs that express the same idea are abundant both in Greek and in other literatures; see, e.g., Perry 107 (Chambry 120, Hausrath/Hunger 109), and the fable-proverbs about the wolf discussed below; also Loukatos' *Παροιμιομύθοι*, p. 33, no. 124, p. 36, no. 138 (also his *Κεφαλοῦντικά Γνωμικά* p. 93, no. 614) and p. 40, no. 149. Numerous references are also found in Thompson, entry U120. ("Nature will show itself") and under the same entry (= motifs 1195-1229) in L. Bødker, *Indian Animal Tales: A Preliminary Survey* (*FF Communications*, no. 170) Helsinki 1957. Closely akin to Perry 50 is the fable of the Cat and the Candle; see Thompson, J1908.1. and Aarne/Thompson, 217 (cf. also 111) and Bødker, *op. cit.*, no. 1233. In Aarne/Thompson several versions of the fable are not noted: Medieval Latin (in Odo Cheritonensis; see Hervieux, p. 296, no. 79), Armenian (see Perry, p. 743, entry "*Catus ferens...*") and Mod. Greek (see Γ. Α. Μέγα, *Μῦθοι ζώων*, p. 94, no. 217, but the fable is not identical with Perry 50, as Megas seems to imply).

³⁸See the letter cited above (note 26), p. 239, 20-30 in Lambros' edition.

“νεώτερον,”³⁹ and he uses it to reiterate the point he made with the previous fable (i.e., Perry 50). The connection between the two fables is valid, because both express the conviction that the true nature of an animal does not change even when it assumes a new form or way of life. Such changes are either superficial or a cover for hypocrisy. The analogies with human society and behavior are all too obvious, and this explains the creation of the many variations on this motif which will be examined below. In Choniates’ fable the main hero is a wolf who is baptized and becomes a Christian. Although Koukoules considers the fable “Aesopian,” it is not found in any of the editions of Greek fables mentioned above. Thus, it is useful to summarize here its plot. The wolf is baptized and becomes a Christian. He now vows *μηκέτι τοῖς θρέμμασι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑποζυγίοις ἐπιέναι καὶ διαλυμαίνεσθαι*. But as he was being led into town with honors and in a *λαμπροφορία*, he saw a pig lying by the side of the road. The animal’s true nature sprang to life immediately, and the wolf attacked and devoured the pig. After all, as the wolf explained, the pig did not stand up, when it saw a neophyte Christian come by.

The fable has left many traces in Modern Greek folklore. P. Papageorgiou⁴⁰ and subsequently Koukoules have already called attention to a Mod. Greek proverb that might be considered a summary of the fable: ‘Ο λύκος κι ἂν βαφτίστηκε Χριστιανὸς δὲν ἔγινε (“even if the wolf was baptized, he did not become a Christian”).⁴¹ Moreover, there are several fables and proverbs in which a wolf (or some other predatory animal) becomes a Christian or repents, and they are found both in Mod. Greek and in Medieval Latin narratives. Here belong, e.g., two fables conventionally ascribed to Romulus (Perry 655 and 655a).⁴² Closely connected with them and more immediately with the

³⁹Papageorgiou, *Συμβολῆς εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν παροιμίαν*, p. 36, comments on the fable and maintains that it was invented at the time of Choniates. The Byzantine author, however, simply states that he learned the fable from one of his contemporaries and that it was “νεώτερος,” which probably means simply not found in the ancient collections, in contrast to the one that he had narrated previously (= Perry 50).

⁴⁰See Papageorgiou, *loc. cit.*

⁴¹The proverb would fit just as well other fables on the wolf’s conversion to Christianity.

⁴²In the two fables we actually have the same narrative in prose and in verse. The wolf vows to fast, but in the end he eats his usual prey after giving it a different name. The object of the satire is the circumvention of the rules of fasting under various pretexts. A version of the fable is found in the English collection of fables culled from various sources by R. L’Estrange, *Fables of Aesop and Other Eminent Mythologists with Morals and Reflexions*, 6th ed., London 1714, p. 507, no. 469. Another version is found in E. du Ménil, *Poésies inédites du moyen âge, précédées d’une histoire de la fable ésoquie*,

one in Choniates are two other Latin fables: one is narrated by Odo of Cheriton (Perry 595: *Isengrimus*⁴³ *monachus*)⁴⁴ and the other is found in the mss. along with Odo's fables (Perry 641: *Lupus et sacerdos*).⁴⁵ In the first fable Isengrim wanted to become a monk. After many entreaties he was admitted to the ranks and assumed a monk's habit. Now he was expected to learn Christian prayers. However, when he was taught to say by heart *Pater noster*, he could only utter *agnus* or *aries*. Next, *docuerunt eum ut respiceret ad crucifixum, ad sacrificium, et ille semper direxit oculos ad arietes*. The substance of Odo's fable appears earlier in *Ysengrimus*, the celebrated Medieval Latin *Tierepos* composed by Nivardus of Ghent.⁴⁶ Here, Isengrim becomes a monk and enters a monastery, where the other monks *docent* [sc. *Ysengrimum*], "*amén*" *quasi grecum, accentuat "agne"* (v. 559). In the other fable (Perry 641) the wolf once *venit...ad penitentiam et uno oculo respiciebat sacerdotem et cum alio oves super montem*.⁴⁷

Identical in substance with the first Latin fable (Perry 595) is a Byzantine (and Mod. Greek) fable-proverb included in the collection compiled by Maximos Planudes: *μουμμένω τῷ λύκῳ ἐκέλευον εἰπεῖν "ἀμήν," ὁ δ' ἔλεγεν "ἀρνίον"*⁴⁸ (= "when the wolf was being baptized, they kept asking him to say 'amen', but he kept saying 'lamb'.") It is clear that this is the same story which we read in the Latin fable in an expanded form. Is this a loan to the East from the West or the reverse? Although in the Latin fable a fuller text is found, the word-play around which the story is built *Pater noster/agnus* (or *aries*) and

Paris 1854, pp. 27-28, who also gives references to still more versions. The first three versions mentioned here are summarized by B. E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus*, pp. 569-70.

⁴³*Isengrimus* (or *Ysengrimus*) is the wolf's name in the Medieval Latin poem by the same title (see next note), the *Roman de Renart*, and several Medieval fables and sayings.

⁴⁴Also in Hervieux, pp. 195-96, no. 22: *De Lupo qui voluit esse monachus*.

⁴⁵Also in Hervieux, p. 406, no. 2 [37]: *De Lupo et sacerdote*.

⁴⁶See the ed. by E. Voigt, *Ysengrimus*, Halle 1884, V, 541 ff. and the reference therein (p. 290) to W. Wackernagel; see also E. Kurtz, "Zu den παροιμίαι δημώδεις," *Philologus* 49 (1890), pp. 465-66.

⁴⁷The motif of the fable is recorded in Thompson, U125. together with references to versions in Arabic and Spanish, but no mention is made of the Latin and Byzantine fables discussed here or of the Mod. Greek fable-proverbs mentioned below. K. Krumbacher, *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter* (SBAW II, 1), Munich 1893 (photo-reprint Hildesheim 1969), p. 211, cites in German a corresponding Arabic proverb (*Man brachte den Wolf in die Leseschule und sprach ihm vor "a b c"; er aber sagte: "Lamm, Ziege, Böckchen"*) published by Alb. Socin, *Arabische Sprichwörter und Redensarten*, Tübingen 1878, p. 21, no. 282.

⁴⁸See E. Kurtz, *Die Sprichwörtersammlung des Maximus Planudes*, Leipzig 1886, p. 36, no. 179 and also Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, *Παροιμιομύθοι*, p. 41, no. 154.

ἀμὴν (with Byzantine or Mod. Greek pronunciation)/ ἀρνίον is much better in the Greek text. The corresponding Latin pair (*Pater noster/agnus*) could hardly be called word-play in terms of the sound of the words. Indeed, the use of *agnus* in the text can be understood only as a translation of the Greek ἀρνίον. In the alternate Latin pair (*Pater noster/aries*) one may see a freer and somewhat more successful adaptation of the Greek pair into Latin. The most successful Latin word-play, however, is found in the *Ysengrimus* (*amen/agne*), where we also find traces of Greek influence, because the wolf is taught to pronounce "amén" quasi *grecum*. The adoption in the story of the Greek rather than the Latin pronunciation of "amen" (amín) can only be attributed to the influence of a Greek version, because it does not bring the sound of "amen" closer to the sound of Latin *agne*, but on the contrary diminishes the similarity in the accent of the two words. Be that as it may, even in its best form the word-play in Latin remains less successful than the one used by Planudes. Thus, if we are to consider one version as the source of the other, we have to accept that only in the Greek can we find an apt satirical starting-point for the story. Of course, the Latin versions are found in authors a little earlier than Planudes, but the Byzantine scholar included in his collection older proverbs also.

It may also be noted here that the Byzantine fable-proverb has survived in Mod. Greek folk-tradition. A version recorded in 1963 from Skopi of Seteia (in Crete) is almost identical with the Byzantine one: "Τὸ λύκο ἐβαφτίζανε νὰ πῇ ἀμὴν κῆλεγε ἀρνί" (= they were baptizing the wolf and teaching him to say "amen," but he said "lamb").⁴⁹

There is a second, satirical motif in the Latin fable, which also occurs in the other fable mentioned above (Perry 641). It centers on the wolf's inability to concentrate piously on the cross or the priest; he

⁴⁹See N. Πουσσόμουστακάκη, ms. 2808, p. 25, no. 185, of the *Research Center for Greek Folklore of the Academy of Athens* (hereafter *Folklore Center*). Another version in which the religious context is removed, while the wolf is subjected to a form of torture, was recorded in 1938 from Ierapetra (again in the province of Seteia) by M. Λιοντάκι, *Folklore Center* ms. 1162B, p. 98: "Τὸ λύκο μιὰ φορὰ τὸν ἐγδέρνανε [were skinning him] καὶ τοῦ λέγανε νὰ πῇ 'ἀμὴ', γιὰ νὰ τὸν ἀφήσουνε, κι αὐτὸς ἔλεγε 'ἀρνί, ἀρνί, ἀρνί'." According to N. G. Politis the fable-proverb occurs also in the folk-tradition of other peoples; see entry "Λύκος, 38" in his notes (for the volumes of *Παροιμίες* that he was not able to finish) preserved in the *Folklore Center*. I am indebted to my colleague and director of the *Folklore Center* St. Imellos for allowing me access to the rich unpublished folkloric materials of the Center.

cannot conform, because his true nature makes him look at the sheep.⁵⁰ The same motif re-emerges in two Mod. Greek fable-proverbs. In the first one, the story has undergone no change. While the wolf was being tonsured to become a monk, he asked "where are the sheep going?" ("Τὸ λύκο τὸν κουρεύανε, κι' ἐκεῖνος ἔλεγε, Ποῦ πᾶν τὰ πρόβατα;"⁵¹). The scene is slightly altered in the second fable-proverb (recorded from Pontos), which is said either about the wolf or the bear.⁵² They were reading to the wolf passages from the Gospels when he asked "wherever are the priest's sheep climbing?" ("Τὸ λύκον ἐτραβαγγέλιζαν κι' ἐκεῖνος ἐρώτανεν, τὶ ποπᾶ τὰ πρόγατα

⁵⁰What led the wolf to religion? Neither the texts mentioned so far, nor the relevant Mod. Greek fable-proverbs offer an explanation. The wolf's motivation might be deduced from another medieval Latin fable-proverb: *Lupus languebat, tunc monachus esse volebat / Postquam convaluit, lupus, ut ante fuit*. See H. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaeque latinitatis Medii Aevi (Carmina Medii Aevi Posterioris Latina*, II, 2), vol. 2, Göttingen 1964, no. 14117. Walther records also a similar fable-proverb under no. 27977 (vol. 4 Göttingen 1966). The same motif, however, is used also with reference to the devil: *Demon languebat, monachus bonus esse volebat / Postquam convaluit, mansit, ut ante fuit...* (Walther, vol. 1, Göttingen 1963, no. 4871). From the number of sources cited by Walther it becomes evident that the latter version was far better known in the Middle Ages. Well known was also another fable-proverb built around the same motif. It refers to sick people, who turn to religion until they get well, but subsequently continue their old bad ways (see *ibid.*, no. 6518 and also Thompson U236, "False repentance of the sick").

⁵¹The fable-proverb and several variants are widely known in Greece, but only a sample is given below. The text was recorded from Sparta by M. Λιουδάκι in 1939, *Folklore Center* ms. 1372, p. 184. A variant was printed by Π. Ἀραβαντινός, *Παροιμιαστήριον ἢ Συλλογὴ παροιμιῶν. Ἐν χρήσει οὐσῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἑπαιρώταις, μετ' ἀναπτύξεως τῆς ἐννόιας αὐτῶν καὶ παραλληλισμοῦ πρὸς τὰς ἀρχαίας*, Ioannina [Greece] 1863, p. 125, no. 1357. In Aravantinos' text the interrogative "ποῦ" is omitted and this omission might account in part for his misunderstanding the fable-proverb, which he takes to mean (unlike Loukatos, *Παροιμιομύθοι*, p. 41, no. 154) "ὅτι οἱ κακοῦργοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις τῆς ζωῆς τῶν στιγμαῖς δυσαρעστοῦνται, διότι οὐ δύνανται κακουργῆσαι." A similar mistaken interpretation was advanced by K. Krumbacher, *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter*, p. 211 ("Der Wolf selbst in der Todesstunde noch an die Schafe denkt"), who knew the fable-proverb from the collection of Aravantinos and also from the one by I. Βενιζέλος, *Παροιμιαὶ δημῳδαὶ συλλεγείσαι καὶ ἐρμηνευθεῖσαι*, 2nd ed., Ermoupolis [Greece] 1867, p. 311, no. 389. Venizelos also omits the interrogative "ποῦ" and offers another mistaken interpretation "εἰς τοὺς φύσει κακοποιοὺς οἵτινες καὶ δυστυχοῦντος [sic] δὲν μεταβάλλονται." A variant without religious overtones (cf. also above, note 49), was recorded from Patras: "Τὸ λύκο γδέρναν γιὰ πετσὶ σταθῆτε τὶ πᾶν τὰ πρόβατα" (see X. Κορύλλου, *Folklore Center* ms. 2268B, p. 579).

⁵²The substitution of one animal in place of another is frequent in fables, proverbs etc., without necessarily affecting their meaning; see J.-Th. A. Papademetriou, "The Mutations of an Ancient Greek Proverb," *REG* 83 (1970), p. 101 and note 36 therein.

μερκᾶν πάγνε;”).⁵³

Last in Koukoules' study comes a charming fable narrated by Gregory Nazianzen.⁵⁴ The editors of Greek fables have been aware of the occurrence of Greek fables in Gregory's works,⁵⁵ but this particular fable is not included in any of the critical editions that we have mentioned above. Hence, it would be useful to summarize it here. Somebody was mocking the owl for her uncomely features: her large head, "the greyishness of her eyes," her ugly voice, her thick legs. The owl, however, was able to counter each derogatory remark. She did so by referring to someone else who had the same individual feature and yet was not considered ugly.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, in the end the owl is defeated in this *agon*, because she cannot rebut the final jeer: each one of those she had invoked to defend herself had only a single ugly feature, while she had all of them and in each instance to a high degree (ἅπαντα καὶ λίαν).

The first reaction of a reader of the fable is surprise, for Athena's bird, the symbol of wisdom, is presented as an object of mockery and, moreover, despite her presumed intelligence, she does not manage to defend herself successfully to the end. There are very few ancient fables in which the owl has an important role, and in most of them her presence does not constitute a permanent element or one indispensable to the development of the plot.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, in these fables the owl

⁵³See A. A. Παπαδοπούλου, "Τοπικὰ ἐπιρρήματα τῆς Ποντικῆς διαλέκτου," Ἀθηνᾶ 29, Λεξικογραφικὸν Ἀρχεῖον Δ', (1917), p. 146 and his "Παροιμῖαι," Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου 2 (1929), p. 129, no. 852, where he prints the variant "Λύκον ἐτραναγγέλιζαν κι ἄτὸς τ' ἄρνῖα τέρνευ [= was looking at]." Another variant is found in Ξ. Κ. Ἀκογλου, Λαογραφικὰ Κοτυώρων, Athens 1939, p. 496, no. 319 and in Loukatos' Παροιμιόμυθοι, p. 41, no. 154. The proverb is recorded also in many unpublished mss. of the *Folklore Center*. The idea in this fable-proverb is essentially the same as the one expressed in the fable Γαλῇ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ and its variants. See above, note 37.

⁵⁴"Ἐπη θεολογικά Β' : Ἐπη ἡθικά ΚΗ' (Κατὰ πλουτούντων), vv. 232-46, *Patrologia Graeca* (Migne) XXXVII, cols. 873-74.

⁵⁵See, e.g., O. Crusius, *Babrii fabulae Aesopeae*, p. 6, paragraph 7, and Coraës p. 247, no. 386, where he edits a fable from Gregory's Ἐπη ἡθικά

⁵⁶To justify the first two defects the owl sagaciously invokes the similarity with Zeus and Athena. For the last two defects, however, she can only point out her similarity to two other rather unpopular birds, the jay (κίττα) and the starling (ψήρ).

⁵⁷These fables are: *Cicada et Noctua* (Perry 507 = Phaedrus III, 16, the motif in Thompson, K815.5.); Γλαῦξ καὶ Ὀρνεια (Perry 437 and 437a, the motif in Thompson, J621.1.), but the owl plays a role only in one branch of the tradition, while in the other two branches the swallow appears in her place (see B. E. Perry, "Demetrius of Phaleron and the Aesopic Fables," *TAPhA* 93 [1962], pp. 315-18); one of the many versions of the fable (Perry 101) Κολοῖος καὶ Ὀρνεια (the motif in Thompson J951.2.), which bears the title Κολοῖος καὶ Γλαῦξ = Halm 200, 3rd version in Coraës no. 188; this version is re-

displays wisdom, intelligence, or at least cunning. Yet, already in antiquity there had been doubts concerning the bird's intelligence. Dio Chrysostomos (72, 14-15) narrates one of the fables in which the owl appears intelligent (Perry 437a), but at the end he adds (72, 15-16): ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαία γλαῦξ τῷ ὄντι φρονίμη ἦν καὶ ξυμβουλευεῖν ἐδύνατο, αἱ δὲ νῦν [sc. γλαῦκες] μόνον τὰ πτερὰ ἔχουσι ἐκείνης καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ τὸ ῥάμφος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀφρονέστεραί εἰσι τῶν ἄλλων ὀρνέων. οὐκοῦν οὐδὲ ἐαυτὰς δύνανται οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖν.⁵⁸

Dio's view is in keeping with the picture of the owl in folk-literature in general and in literary works drawing on it. Here the owl is frequently mocked for her ugliness and her ludicrous claim to beauty. In a medieval Latin fable (Perry 614: *Bubo et alia volatilia*)⁵⁹ a beauty contest of the birds is reported. The prize for the victor is a rose: *Venit bubo et dixit se esse pulcherrimam et quod debuit habere rosam. Omnes mote sunt in risum, dicentes "Tu es avis pulcherrima per antiphrasim, quoniam turpissima."*⁶⁰

The owl claims beauty once again, but this time on behalf of her children⁶¹ in a fable of Abstemius⁶² and in its derivative fable V, 18 (*L'*

cast and narrated also by Libanius (Coraës' 6th version, p. 118, Hausrath/Hunger, fasc. 2, pp. 131-32), Theophylactos Simocattes (= Hausrath/Hunger, *ibid.* 2, pp. 153-54), Ignatios (= Coraës' 5th version, p. 118) and I. Tzetzes (= Coraës' 4th version, p. 117). A corresponding narrative is found in Babrius 72, where the swallow replaces the owl and in Phaedrus 1, 3, where the owl is left out. Phaedrus' version is the model for La Fontaine IV, 9 (not cited by Thompson under motif J951.2.).

⁵⁸The findings of modern ornithologists confirm Dio's estimate of the bird's low degree of intelligence; see H. Duda, *Animal Nature in the Aesopic Fables* (diss., Urbana, Illinois 1948), pp. 49-50. Ancient lore and observations on the owl are conveniently gathered together in D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London - Oxford 1936 (photo-reprint Hildesheim 1966), entry "γλαῦξ."

⁵⁹Also in Hervieux, pp. 226-27, no. 55: *De rosa et volatilibus*. The motif in Thompson, K98. ("Beauty contest won by deception"), who does not refer to this fable.

⁶⁰Nevertheless, the owl wins the prize through guile, because she steals the rose during the night, while the other birds are asleep.

⁶¹The owl's claims of beauty for herself and her children are combined and attributed to the frog in an amusing fable of Odo, *De filio Bufonis et sotularibus*, Hervieux, pp. 187-88, no. 14; the transference from the owl to the frog may have been facilitated by the similarity of their medieval names (*bubo/bufo*). Here, the hare asks the frog how he would recognize the latter's son, which the frog had described simply as *pulcherrimum...inter omnia animalia*. The frog's answer is *qui tale habet caput quale est meum, talem ventrem, tales tibias, tales pedes*. As the lion observes at the end, *si quis amat Ranam, Ranam putat esse Dianam*.

⁶²I was able to consult the edition of 1505 (Grunii Corococetae, *Porcelli Testamentum. Laurentii Abstemii Maceratensis, Hecatomythium secundum. Eiusdem libellus de verbis communibus*), in which the relevant fable is the fourteenth and bears the title *De Bubone dicente Aquilae filios suos caeterarum avium filiis esse formosiores*. Concerning the work of

aigle et le hibou) of La Fontaine (we cite the latter's text). The eagle is a friend of the owl and he wishes to ensure that he will not kill his friend's children by mistake. For this reason he asks her how he will recognize them. She informs him (vv. 15-16):

"Mes petits sont mignons,
Beaux, bien faits, et jolis sur tous leurs compagnons."

One day, the eagle finds on a rock the owl's children, which are (vv. 27-28):

De petits monstres fort hideux,
Rechignés, un air triste, une voix de Mégère.

Reassured that these could not be the owl's children, the eagle devours them. The same motif in substance, but cast into a much milder form, appears also in Mod. Greek tradition. The owl gives the partridge bread to take to her children at school and wants to be sure that the partridge makes no mistake. She tells her how to recognize her children: they are the most beautiful ones. The partridge, however, comes back with the bread, because she found that her own were the most beautiful children and not the owl's.⁶³

The motif in these stories is found both in antiquity and Byzantium⁶⁴ and also in the folk-tradition of many peoples. In antiquity, however, we find the ape in the role of the owl.⁶⁵ In the international folk-tradition the role of the ugly animal is assumed sometimes by the ape or the owl, but also by other birds and animals, or even insects.⁶⁶ Mocking stories on the owl's excessive claim to having beautiful children constitute the more widespread category, but in other fables, fable-proverbs, or narratives we also find mockery of either the owl or

Abstemius (= Lorenzo Bevilacqua), see C. Filosa, *La favola e la letteratura esopiana in Italia dal Medio Evo ai nostri giorni* (*Storia dei generi letterari italiani*, without a series number), Milano 1952, pp. 83-86 and the bibliographical note 25 therein.

⁶³Our summary of the Mod. Greek fable is based on the texts published by N. Γ. Πολίτης, ('*Ἡ πέρδικα καὶ ἡ χουχουβάγια*'), "*Σύμμικτα*," *Λαογραφία* 5 (1915), p. 620 and Δ. Σ. Λουκάτος, ('*Ἡ πέρδικα καὶ ἡ κουκουβάγια*') *Νεοελληνικά λαογραφικά κείμενα*, pp. 47-48, no. 4. The fable is the source of several Mod. Greek proverbs; see N. Γ. Πολίτου, "*Σύμμικτα*," pp. 621-22. The myth is listed also by Γ. Α. Μέγας, *Μῦθοι ζώων*, pp. 100-101, no. 247.

⁶⁴Echoes of the fable in Byzantine authors are noted by N. G. Politis, "*Σύμμικτα*," p. 622 and especially note 10.

⁶⁵See Perry 364 (= Babrius 56) and Avianus 14.

⁶⁶See Thompson, T681. ("Each likes his own children best"), Aarne/Thompson 247, and N. Γ. Πολίτου, "*Σύμμικτα*," pp. 621-22. Abundant references are found in the above works, but the texts of La Fontaine and Avianus are not mentioned in either work, while the Mod. Greek versions are listed only by Politis.

her children.⁶⁷ Specifically, in a Mod. Greek fable-proverb the large head and the tail of the bird are objects of satire,⁶⁸ while in a Mod. Greek fable the bird's head and her longevity receive the same treatment.⁶⁹

The preceding examination of the various texts and traditions about the owl makes it clear that the close connection between the bird and wisdom in fables etc. does not extend beyond antiquity. On the contrary, Athena's bird was very early reduced to an object of mockery. It is also clear that the fable of Gregory Nazianzen occupies an important place in this process, since it is the first text based on popular tradition in which the owl is reduced to her new role.

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⁶⁷See Aarne/Thompson 247B*, 247B**, 247B***, Thompson T681.1. and also Aarne/Thompson 230 and Thompson K1985.

⁶⁸See Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, *Παροιμιόμυθοι*, p. 80, no. 281.

⁶⁹Η κουκουβάγια καὶ τὸ γεράκι: see Δ. Σ. Λουκάτου, *Νεοελληνικά λαογραφικά κείμενα*, p. 47, no. 3; see also Aarne/Thompson 230 (the motif in Thompson K1985.), and Γ. Α. Μέγα, *Μῦθοι ζώων*, p. 98, no. 230.

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The Art of Rhetoric in Gregor Reisch's
Margarita Philosophica and Conrad Celtes'
Epitome of the Two Rhetorics of Cicero

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Gregor Reisch, sometime Master of Arts at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau, prior of the Freiburg Charterhouse from 1502 to his death in 1525, confessor to the Emperor Maximilian, first won fame with the publication of his *Margarita Philosophica*, an epitome, as he called it, of all philosophy.¹ He had apparently begun the work in the early or mid 1490's, but scattered references and dates show that he was still working on it a few months before its initial publication in July 1503.² For instance, in the Tractate on Letter-writing in Book III, he gives as an

¹Erasmus said of him in 1516: "His views have the weight of an oracle in Germany" (P. S. Allen, *Opus Epistolarum*, II [Oxford, 1910], p. 327, No. 456, 181). For Reisch's biography and a survey of the contents of the *Margarita Philosophica* see especially Gustav Münzel, *Der Kartäuserprior Gregor Reisch und seine Margarita Philosophica* (Freiburg i. Br., 1937), reprinted from *Zeitschrift des Freiburger Geschichtesvereins* 45 (1934), pp. 1-87. Cf. also Robert, Ritter von Srbik, *Die Margarita Philosophica des Gregor Reisch* († 1525). *Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften in Deutschland*, Denkschriften, Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien, Mathnaturw. Kl., 104 (Vienna, 1941), pp. 82-205; Karl Hartfelder, "Der Karthäuserprior Gregor Reisch, Verfasser der *Margarita philosophica*," *Zeitschrift f. d. Geschichte des Oberrheins* 44 (1890), pp. 170-200. I have examined all eight of the authorized and unauthorized editions (below, note 4), but have used primarily the Freiburg 1503 and Basle 1508 editions for this study. Page references are given to both editions since pagination in the authorized second (1504) edition is similar to that in the first edition, and in the fourth (1517) edition to that in the third (1508).

²On p. π 3^v (1503) there is a poem by Adam Werner which serves as a kind of preface to the book and urges Reisch to publish his "*Epithoma*" as quickly as possible. This poem is given in the second (1504) edition the date: *III Kal. Ianuarias. MCCCC. lxxxvi* (30 December 1496). This date does not occur in the first edition, and was dropped for some reason (was it incorrect?) in the third edition, where the poem is placed with other

example of one way to date a letter: *vicesima Nouembris anni Millesimi quingentesimi secundi*.³ The book appears to have been well received by university students and teachers in upper Germany. Reisch's authorized printer, Johann Schott, and later his successor Michael Furter, found themselves engaged in a competition for this reading public with Johannes Grüninger of Strassburg. Each firm produced four editions apiece of the *Margarita* between 1503 and 1517. Ten years after Reisch's death Conrad Resch hired Henri Petri in Basle to print a new edition revised by Oronce Finé.⁴ Almost fifty years later, in 1583, the market could still support a reprint of the 1535 edition.⁵

Much of this success was doubtless due to Reisch's remarkable ability to compress a large amount of information into a small compass

tributes in verse at the back of the book (p. R7^v). The date was probably added then by Reisch himself.

³1503 p. e8^r = 1508 p. k7^r. Münzel (above, note 1), p. 6, thought this might have been the day Reisch was actually writing this part.

⁴Bibliographical details in John Ferguson, "The *Margarita Philosophica* of Gregorius Reisch. A Bibliography," *The Library*, 4th ser., 10 (1929), 194-216; cf. also Hartfelder (above, note 1), 192-200. The publication data show that Schott issued his first edition "near the feast of St. Margaret" (July 20), 1503, in Freiburg (cf. however Josef Benzing, *Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet* [Wiesbaden, 1963], p. 412, who mentions the problems connected with this location for the press). It evidently sold well, and a second edition was being printed for publication on March 16, 1504, when another Strassburg printer, Johannes Grüninger, hurried out a pirated edition on February 24. Schott accordingly inserted a notice to the reader informing him that only his edition was revised by the author, and "the edition of others contained foreign matter." The third authorized edition, published by Schott and Furter in Basle in 1508, and likewise the fourth edition, published by Furter alone in 1517 in Basle, also claim additions and revisions made by Reisch and warn against the "lying *stigmata*" of Grüninger's editions (Strassburg 1504, 1512, and 1515). In the absence of a critical edition of the *Margarita*, these claims cannot be easily checked. No changes, apart from the correction of typographical errors and improvements in punctuation, were made in Book III between the first and fourth editions. Grüninger replaced Reisch's sections on Memory and on Letter-writing by a version of Peter of Ravenna's *Phoenix* (below, note 23), and by a *Modus componendi Epistolas* by Beroaldus (ascribed to Filippo Beroaldo in the British Museum Catalog). He also increased the utility of the book to students by adding several short treatises on various subjects (cf. Ferguson, pp. 208-212). These alterations are presumably his "lies".

⁵According to Johannes Müller (below, note 9), Book I On Grammar was published separately in Leipzig in 1511. Book V On Geometry was similarly published in Paris in 1549. According to Eberhard Nestle, *Conradi Pellicani de modo legendi et intelligendi Hebraeum. Deutschlands erste Lehr-, Lese- und Wörterbuch der hebräischen Sprache* (Tübingen, 1877), p. ix, an Italian translation of the entire work was published by P. Galucci in Venice in 1600. A photographic reproduction of the Basle 1517 edition was published by Stern-Verlag Janssen in Düsseldorf in 1973 in its *Instrumenta philosophica, Series thesauri*, 1.

and still be readable. The use of the dialogue form, traditional in pedagogical works, contributed to this readability. A bright *discipulus* puts questions to his well-informed *magister*. But even more is contributed by Reisch's literary skills. He writes a good and clear expository Latin, largely free from university barbarisms. The work is sometimes called an encyclopedia, as in the title of a poem by Jacob Locher (Philomusus) praising the book, and in the title of the 1583 edition. But it is more properly a compendium or epitome, which is what Reisch himself considered his work to be.⁶ In pursuit of this goal he digested the content of numerous works by his contemporaries and predecessors in the university world, illustrated their ideas from his own wide reading in the Bible and in classical, patristic and scholastic authors, and had the published book equipped with a wonderful array of pictures. He thus produced what Münzel calls a "Kosmos der Wissenschaften," a *summa* of what every college graduate in 1500 was expected to know. There is scarcely another book of the period which so sharply exposes the intellectual, and also in many respects the everyday, world of late medieval Germany.⁷

Though Reisch was to a considerable degree a supporter of the New Learning, the *studia humanitatis* occupy a comparatively small piece of territory in this world. And in the *artes sermocinales* of the Trivium, Rhetoric takes a distant third place in Book III, one of the shortest of the twelve books into which the *Margarita* is divided. In book I, on *Grammatica*, Reisch follows the basic outline of Donatus and Alexander's *Doctrinale*, probably in keeping with the curriculum at the University of Freiburg.⁸ (Though Priscian is depicted as the representative of advanced grammar in the woodcut illustration introducing this Book, it was evidently Alexander's book which was actually read in class.) However, Reisch seems also to have been guided by the more elementary *Compendium octo partium orationis* (also known as the *Opusculum quintupertitum grammaticale pro pueris in lingua latina breuiter erudiendis*), a textbook widely used in the lower schools in the Netherlands, where it originated, and in upper Germany and hence probably

⁶In the introductory address to *ingenui Adolescentes* (1503, p. π 2^v) which becomes in 1508 the *Ad lectorem auctoris conclusio* (p. R7^r). Münzel (above, note 1), p. 52, n. 90, collects several passages where Reisch makes remarks similar to what he says to the *Adolescentes* — *epitoma omnis philosophiae: quantitate quidem parum, sed continentia immensum*. Locher's poem is on p. R8^r in the 1508 edition.

⁷Münzel (above, note 1), p. 87.

⁸Cf. Terrence Heath, "Logical Grammar, Grammatical Logic, and Humanism in Three German Universities," *Studies in the Renaissance* 18 (1971), 32-34.

very familiar to most students.⁹ Book II is devoted to the most important subject in the Trivium, *Dialectica*, and is almost as long as the survey of grammatical knowledge. It is similarly based upon textbooks actually used for teaching logic and disputation: Aristotle (especially the *Topics* and *Sophistici Elenchi*), Peter of Spain, and Paul of Venice.¹⁰

Book III, which is only one-third as long as either Book I or Book II (some 22 pages compared to their 65 to 70), consists of two Tractates. The first and larger is entitled *De partibus orationis rhetoricae*. It is divided into 23 chapters, each of which, after the introductory first chapter, is apparently to be considered a *pars*. The second and much briefer Tractate, seven chapters in a scant four pages, covers the topic *De epistolis condendis*.

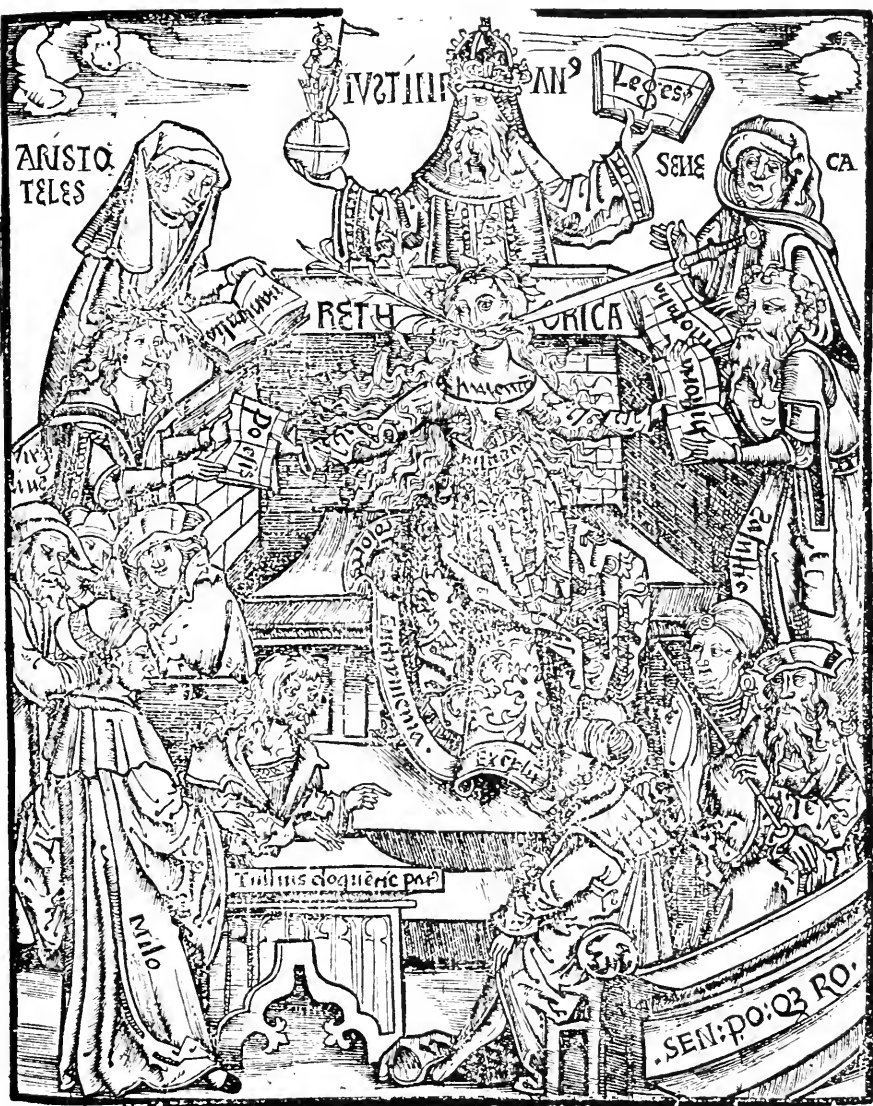
A striking feature of the *Margarita* is the use of numerous woodcut illustrations. Philosophia herself, surrounded by her different kinds of knowledge, appears on the title page, and each of the seven Liberal Arts has a full-page illustration at the start of her respective book.¹¹ "Rethorica" [*sic*] is presented in a pose more often associated with "Justice" (see Plate). She is sitting on a throne and wearing the Girdle of Justice. A sword and a lily emerge from her flaming mouth. Her breast is the seat of the Muses.¹² The hem of her ornate robe proclaims *Colores, Enthymema, Exemplum*. Crowned with a laurel wreath she holds out the book of Poetry to Virgil with her right hand and the book of History to Sallust with her left. Behind her stand Justinian, holding the orb of empire and the book of Laws, Aristotle (on her right) with the book of Natural Philosophy, and Seneca (on her left) with the book of Moral Philosophy. The trial of Milo is being enacted in front of her throne with Cicero, *pater eloquentiae*, addressing the *Senatus Populusque Romanus* and a regal consul (Pompey?); a *corona* of the populace

⁹Cf. Münzel (above, note 1), p. 56, n. 91. The *Compendium* incorporates almost verbatim another elementary textbook, the *Exercitium puerorum grammaticale* which likewise originated in the Netherlands and was used in the lower schools of upper Germany; cf. Johannes Müller, *Quellenschriften und Geschichte des deutschsprachlichen Unterrichts* (Gotha, 1882), pp. 241-51, 259-60. Münzel notes that the *Compendium* has close associations with Basle and the Basle Charterhouse. Reisch was prior of the nearby Buxheim Charterhouse in 1501 and may well have composed Book I during this time.

¹⁰Cf. Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Logik im Abendland*, vol. 4 (Leipzig 1870), p. 294, n. 741; Münzel (above, note 1), p. 56, n. 91.

¹¹Cf. Münzel (above, note 1), pp. 84-87; Udo Becker, *Die erste Enzyklopädie aus Freiburg um 1495. Die Bilder der Margarita Philosophica des Gregorius Reisch, Prior der Kartäuse, 850 jähriges Stadtjubiläum Freiburgs* (Freiburg 1970).

¹²The lettering on her breast is not completely decipherable. Grüninger's artist, in copying this woodcut, puts *Musae* here, which seems to be more or less correct.



Rhetorica

Basle 1508, p. i5^r (University of Illinois Library, Urbana). The same woodcut is used for the editions of 1503, 1504 and 1517.

stands behind him.¹³ The artist's conception of rhetoric certainly corresponds well with Cicero's belief that *una est eloquentia* (*De orat.* III. 6. 22), and displays the subject of rhetoric in all its ramifications. Reisch's presentation in words falls a good way short of this ideal. His *discipulus* has learned from Grammar how to express his ideas in correct language, and from Dialectic how to use arguments to elucidate the truth and falsity of this language. But, he says, *in hoc ipso deficere mihi videor*.¹⁴ *quod nondum eas [sc. ratiocinationes] eo ingenio exornandas per-
nosco: quo rerum, de quibus sermo est conditio expostulat.* Quite true, replies the *magister*; it is the liberal art of rhetoric which supplies this knowledge.

With this beginning we would expect to find the treatment of rhetoric centered on style and *copia verborum*. Instead Reisch begins chapter I in isagogic fashion with a series of questions: *Quid Rhetorica: a quo primo tradita: quid rhetor: quid rhetoris officium: et quot genera causarum.* The Master's answers to the first, third and fourth of these questions come from Isidore's *Etymologiae* (2. 1 ff.). He is unable to answer the second question about the inventor of rhetoric; he knows only that Demosthenes and Cicero cultivated the art brilliantly and that no learned person has ever neglected it because of the benefits which arise from it. But help is at hand. From this point on in Book III, in keeping with his stance as an epitomator, Reisch epitomizes what was

¹³The iconography goes back ultimately to the description of Rhetoric in Martianus Capella, 5. 426-29, though none of the details in the woodcut except the ornamental dress and perhaps the presence of the sword goes back directly to Capella, but this seems to be typical of the medieval renderings of the Liberal Arts; cf. Emile Mâle, *L'art religieux du xii^e siècle en France* (Paris 1931), pp. 82-86. Donald Lemen Clark, "Rhetoric and the Literature of the English Middle Ages," *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 45 (1959), pp. 19-21 (reprinted in Lionel Crocker and Paul H. Carmack, *Readings in Rhetoric* [Springfield, Ill., 1965], pp. 220-221), suggests that Rhetoric's elaborate coiffure and gown in the Reisch illustration stand for beauty of style (cf. *cincinnus, calamister, vestire* in Cicero's rhetorical metaphors). The frontispiece of the first and second authorized editions likewise depicts Rhetorica with flowing ringlets, which contrast with the tightly braided hair of Logica, and the partly bouffant, partly loose hair of Grammatica. Rhetorica's emblem here is a scroll with a dangling seal, which perhaps refers to the connection with law and government suggested by the illustration in Book III. The woodcut for this frontispiece was apparently broken during the printing of the second edition and was replaced by a new cut with a completely new illustration in the 1508 edition. In the new version, Rhetorica seems to be holding a lance or sword in her left hand (or it may be the rod of office like the sceptre held in the left hand of the "consul" in the Rethorica cut). She is either pointing to this object with her right hand, or is making an oratorical gesture with this hand of the kind common in the medieval iconography of rhetoric. The imitation of the Rethorica woodcut in Grüninger's editions is artistically feeble and less rich in suggesting the overall significance of Rhetoric.

¹⁴The printed text has *deficere mihi vide| re videor*; an evident dittography.

already an epitome, Conrad Celtes' *Epitoma in vtranque Ciceronis rhetoricam cum arte memoratiua noua et modo epistolandi vtilissimo*.

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Celtes came to the University of Ingolstadt in late 1491 to teach literature and rhetoric for one-half year as an extraordinary lecturer.¹⁵ The *Epitoma* is the first published product of this endeavor.¹⁶ As the title indicates, the work consists of a (very selective) epitome of Cicero's *De Inventione*, and of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, which was still thought to be by Cicero, all in twenty pages (a2^v - b4^v);¹⁷ an allegedly novel treatment of artificial memory (b4^v - 5^v) with an appended table of mnemonic letters and words (c2);¹⁸ and a Tractate on letter-writing (b5^v - c1^v). The book does not seem ever to have been reprinted in its entirety and certainly did not fulfil, at least directly, Celtes' hopes for it: "Following only Cicero's words, and almost the whole thread of his discourse, we have been brought to this hope: If someday our young men and students of the good arts imbibe this foretaste like a draught of their first milk, they can easily rise to Ciceronian eloquence and to rivalry with Italian letters."¹⁹ Celtes also advances a

¹⁵Cf. Hans Rupprich, *Humanismus und Renaissance in den deutschen Städten und an den Universitäten*, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1935), pp. 40-42, after Carl Prantl, *Geschichte der Ludwigs-Maximilians-Universität* (Munich 1872) and Gustav Bauch, *Die Anfänge der Humanismus in Ingolstadt* (Munich 1901).

¹⁶Published without indication of place, date, or printer; cf. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 6 (Stuttgart - New York 1968), No. 6463. Celtes' prefatory letter dedicating the book to Maximilian I is dated March 28, 1492. In addition to the Epitome of rhetoric, the book also contains four of the poems from his Polish period. I have used a microfilm of the copy in the Annemary Brown Library, Brown University.

¹⁷Cf. John O. Ward, "From Antiquity to the Renaissance: Glosses and Commentaries on Cicero's *Rhetorica*," in James J. Murphy, *Medieval Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, (Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1978), pp. 25-67, on the use of these works in the teaching of rhetoric.

¹⁸Frances R. Yates does not mention Celtes in her *Art of Memory* (Chicago 1966). According to Harry Caplan, *Of Eloquence. Studies in Ancient and Mediaeval Rhetoric*, Anne King and Helen North, edd., (Ithaca, N.Y. 1970), p. 246, Celtes was the first to use letters instead of visual backgrounds in a mnemonic system. Celtes' system combines these letters with a set of numbers and multiple series of verbal images in a rather complex way, though he claims greater simplicity for his approach compared to the "place" system.

¹⁹Letter to Maximilian, a2^r. Celtes developed his general views on the function of literature and rhetoric in university education in his *Oratio in gymnasio in Ingolstadio publice recitata*, reprinted in Rupprich (above, note 15), pp. 226-38. The *Epitoma* is reprinted with Gerardus Bucoldianus, *De Inventione et Amplificatione Oratoria: seu Vsu locorum, libri tres*, (and with some other rhetorical-dialectical writings), Strassburg: Johann Albert,

Ciceronian view of the value of rhetoric: "the composition of all history and every kind of speaking and writing arise and flow from these Ciceronian principles as from a seedbed."²⁰ We do not know whether Reisch was influenced by these claims in deciding to incorporate Celtes' treatise in his *Margarita*, or even by Celtes' rising reputation as an author and expert in the Humanities. He was perhaps moved primarily by the book's small scale, and the easy way it offered for digesting a subject in which he does not really appear to have much interest. Reisch was in Ingolstadt in May 1494 and probably acquired his copy of Celtes' book there.²¹ But there is no evidence that he ever met Celtes personally or communicated in any way directly with him. Nevertheless, the first edition of the *Margarita* contains poems by Adam Werner and Dietrich Ulsen who did have such connections with Celtes. Ulsen in particular had been a member of Celtes' later Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana in Vienna and was, like Reisch, a Master at Freiburg (he became professor of medicine there in 1504).²² Whatever Reisch's reasons were then for using Celtes' work, he gave it an unforeseen (and anonymous) divulgation through the *Margarita Philosophica*.

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Of the twenty-one chapters constituting the body of Reisch's *Tractatus I De partibus orationis rhetoricae* (c. 2-22), only chapter 8 (On Narration and Division) and chapter 16 (On Arranging the Parts of Speech [i.e. nouns, verbs etc. in sentences]) do not derive largely from Celtes. Likewise, chapter 23 (On Memory) stems from Celtes, though Reisch here extracts the bare essentials of Celtes' method and omits his explanations and examples. Reisch also revised and simplified Celtes'

1534, but with omission of the *Ars Memoratiua* and the *De modo epistolandi*. The former is replaced by a short treatise entitled *Memoriae Naturalis Confirmandae praecepta quaedam utilissima, et ex optimis quibusque autoribus deprompta* by M. Iohannes Mentzingerus who seems to be the editor of this Sammelbuch. Celtes' *De modo epistolandi* was reprinted by Phillipus Nutius in Antwerp, 1565, under the title *Methodus conficiendarum epistolarum* together with J. L. Vives' *De conscribendis epistolis* (the headwork in the book), Erasmus' *Compendium de conscribendis epistolis*, and Christoph Hegendorf's *Methodus conscribendi epistolae*.

²⁰Letter to Maximilian, a2r; the confusion of metaphors is Celtes'.

²¹He matriculated on May 9. He was probably there as the tutor of a young student placed in his charge, Franz Wolfgang, Count of Hohenzollern; cf. Münzel (above, note 1), pp. 3-4. Celtes himself returned to Ingolstadt the same month; Rupprich (above, note 15), p. 41.

²²Cf. Hartfelder (above, note 1), pp. 178-179; Münzel pp. 11-27.

rather exotic mnemonic table.²³ Similarly the second Tractate *De condendis epistolis* is a simplified and occasionally improved abridgement of Celtes' *Tractatus de condendis epistolis*.

Reisch, however, was not a mere excerptor of another's work. He had an independent knowledge of rhetoric, and a different outlook on life from Celtes. He freely modifies Celtes' work, and here and there corrects it from his own reading of the two rhetorics. A detailed comparison is not possible here, but a few examples will illustrate both Celtes' epitomizing and Reisch's adaptations. In quoting these texts I have expanded abbreviations and corrected obvious typographical errors silently. Orthography and punctuation are those of the original editions.

1. On the constituent parts of Invention.

a) *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 2. 3 and 3. 4: Inventio est excogitatio rerum verarum aut veri similibus, quae causam probabilem reddant [cf. *De inv.* I. 7. 9] ... Inventio in sex partes [orationis] consumitur: in exordium, narrationem, divisionem, confirmationem, confutationem, conclusionem [cf. *De inv.* I. 14. 19].

b) Celtes (a5^v): Est autem inventio verborum et rerum apta negociis excogitatio. Hec in exordium narrationem confirmationem et conclusionem absumitur ... Inventionis partes haec sunt <:> Exordium. Narratio. Confirmatio. Partitio. Conclusio.

c) Reisch (d7^v = i7^r): Discipulus. Quid est inventio? Magister. Est verborum et rerum apta [sic!] negociis excogitatio. Et habet has partes: Exordium: narrationem: diuisionem: confirmationem: confutationem: conclusionem.²⁴

Though clearly dependent here on Celtes, Reisch has corrected and expanded Celtes' list of the parts of invention either from his own memory or by checking its source in the *Rhet. ad Her.*

²³Yates (above, note 18), p. 112, says this chapter was taken from Peter of Ravenna's *Phoenix, sive artificiosa memoria* (ed. pr., Venice 1491), but this was one of Grüninger's substitutions (cf. note 4). Grüninger's action in replacing Celtes' treatment, like Mentzinger's later (above, note 19), probably reflects some dissatisfaction with Celtes' novel approach. Reisch himself replaces Celtes' weird alphabet with a more conventional Roman one (omitted or dropped in the third edition) and also many of his image words. He seems to have felt the latter offensive in some respect. So he replaces Celtes' *bibulus* with *binder*, *fornicator* with *fossator*. The obscure *reciarius* is replaced by *regina* and *testamentarius* by *testator*. A sly substitution is *poeta* for *podagrosus*. Strange words like *kakademon*, *kerkitector*, *kinglios* (which is also obscene), *koradion* are replaced by common German ones.

²⁴The typesetter apparently mistook the p in *apta* for p (= *per*) or a piece of type

2. The epichireme.

a) *Rhet. ad Her.* II. 18. 28: Ergo absolutissima et perfectissima est argumentatio ea, quae in quinque partes est distributa: propositionem, rationem, rationis confirmationem, exornationem, complexionem. Propositio est, per quam ostendimus summam, quid sit quod probari volumus. Ratio est quae [causam] demonstrat verum esse id, quod intendimus, brevi subiectione. Rationis confirmatio est ea, quae pluribus argumentis corroborat breviter expositam rationem. Exornatio est, qua utimur rei honestandae et conlocupletandae causa, confirmata argumentatione. Complexio est, quae concludit breviter, colligens partes argumentationis [cf. *De inv.* I. 37. 67].

b) Celtes (a7^r): Est autem ratiocinatio oratio ex ipsa re aliquid probabile eliciens [from *De inv.* I. 34. 57]: ea quintupertita est [*ibid.* or else from *Rhet. ad Her.* II. 18. 30] scilicet expositione:²⁵ expositionis comprobatione: ratione comprobationis: exornatione †illatone†:²⁶ et complectione. Expositio est qua summam ostendimus quod summam probare voluerimus. Exornatio est qua utimur rei honestande vel locupletande causa: hec exemplo simili rebus iudicatis amplificationibus et exornationibus constat [cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 29. 46]. Complexio est que breuiter concludens expedite partes argumentationis complectitur <.> verum si expositio perspicua est comprobatione et ratione supersedemus vt si summopere sapientia appetenda est maximopere stulticia vitanda est [the example is from *De inv.* I. 37. 66]. Quod si causa parum locuples erit exornatione vtemur [cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 19. 30]. vicia autem hec in exornatione vitanda sunt ne quod ab aliquo fit ab omnibus fieri dicamus [cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* I. 21. 32]. neu quod raro fit nunquam fieri ostendamus [*ibid.* 33]. Rationes non conuenientes exornationi²⁷ viciose sunt que non necessarie probabiles sunt [*Rhet. ad Her.* II. 23. 35] queque idem dicunt quod in expositione dictum est vel que alteri cause conueniunt [*Rhet. ad Her.* I. 29. 37].

c) Reisch (el^r f. = i8^v): Dis[cipulus]. Quid est ratiocinatio? Ma[gister]. Est oratio ex ipsa re aliquid probabile eliciens. Eam quintupertitam inuenies. scilicet: Expositione: expositionis con-

was in the wrong place in his jobcase. Once introduced the error remains.

²⁵ *Expositio* replaces *propositio* at I. 20. 32 and elsewhere, so Celtes' use of *expositio* instead of *propositio* is to be expected; cf. *De inv.* I. 37. 67: *Propositio per quam locus is breuiter exponitur.*

²⁶ *Illius comprobationis? illata ratione?* Cicero, *De inv.* I. 37. 67, defines this element of the epichireme as *per quam id quod adsumptum est rationibus firmatur*. Reisch evidently did not know what the text in Celtes meant and, following *Rhet. ad Her.* directly, omits it.

²⁷ An error for *expositioni*, probably made by Celtes himself.

clusione:²⁸ ratione: rationis confirmatione: exornatione: et complexione. Dis. Expositio (id est propositio quam maiorem dicimus) quid est? Mag. Est oratio qua summam ostendimus quod summam probare voluerimus. Dis. Exornatio quid est? Ma. Est oratio qua vitur rei honestandę vel locupletandę causa. In ea summopere cauendum est: ne quod ab aliquo fit, ab omnibus fieri dicamus: aut quod raro fit, nunquam fieri ostendamus. Dis. Ratio (quae minor dicitur) quid est? Magister. Est causa quę demonstrat verum esse quod intendimus. Rationis autem confirmatio est quę multis argumentis corroborat breuiter expositam rationem. verum si expositio perspicua est: ratione et rationis comprobatione supersedemus. vt si summopere sapientia appetenda est: maxime stulticia vitanda est. Dis. Complexio (quę conclusio dicitur) quid est? Magi. Quę breuiter concludit ex dictis ita sentiendum vt propositum est. Sunt autem hę conclusiones non totius orationis, sed partium eius scilicet aut exordii: narrationis: argumentationis: conclusionis et epilogi [This last sentence is from *Rhet. ad Her.* II. 30. 97].

Celtes (or his source if he is not working directly from Cicero) omits the definitions of *expositionis comprobatio* and of *ratio*, and jumps ahead to the separate topic of the appropriate omission of individual parts of the epichireme in a particular argument. He then attaches to this topic the even later topic of defects (*vitia*) in the different parts of the epichireme. His epitome is thus sketchy in the extreme on this subject and verges on unintelligibility. Nevertheless, Reisch follows his sequence of topics, but then backtracks to fill in the missing definitions of *ratio* and *rationis confirmatio* which he takes directly from the *Rhet. ad Her.* He obviously did not notice that he was repeating the definition of *exornatio*. He also assimilates the "form" of the epichireme to the syllogism with its major and minor premises (the *discipulus* having studied Dialectic can do this). This (erroneous) idea leads him into thinking the *complexio* is analogous to the conclusion of the syllogism.²⁹ Since he has looked into the *Rhet. ad Her.* in order to make sense of Celtes' treatment, he is then led astray by the juxtaposition of the discussions of *complexio vitiosa* and of *conclusio* there (II. 29. 46 and 30. 47); the idea that 'conclusions' are used to round off the main parts of the speech has of course nothing to do with the epichireme.

3. *De coloribus sententiarum* (cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* IV. 35. 47-68).

In this section of his *Epitoma* (b2^v - 3^v), Celtes follows closely the list of nineteen figures of thought in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, but omits (presumably inadvertently) *contentio* (no. 9 in the Auctor's

²⁸ *Sic*; he should have written *comprobatione*.

²⁹ *Conclusio* is sometimes used for *complexio* as in *Rhet. ad Her.* III. 9. 16.

treatment, *ibid.* 58) and *significatio* (no. 17, *ibid.* 67). He ends the section elegantly, if somewhat incorrectly, with *conclusio*, a figure of diction (cf. *Rhet. ad Her.* IV. 30. 41), and illustrates it with his own conclusion to the section (though drawing on *Rhet. ad Her.* again, IV. 56. 69). Reisch who, since he is following Celtes, likewise does not have *conclusio* in its proper place omits it here too, doubtless because it is not a figure of thought. Instead he adds the two figures missing from Celtes' discussion, but in the reverse order of their occurrence in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: first *significatio*, then *contentio*. It looks as though he went backwards through *Rhet. ad Her.* to check Celtes' accuracy and appended the two missing figures as he came to them. In place of Celtes' ending he says simply: *Hi sunt colores quibus (et si non omnibus saltem aliquibus) vti debet orator pro necessitate cause* [e5^v = k4^v].³⁰

4. On Letter-writing.

Reisch again follows Celtes fairly closely in this part of his Book. But the changes he makes at certain points reveal the fundamental differences in the characters and interests of the two men. For example, Celtes divides all letters into the two major categories of *diuina* and *humana*. Letters on divine subjects are *coelestis*, *sacra* or *moralis* (b5^v). He gives no examples of these types at this point, and only a brief treatment of them later on. "Divine" matters are clearly not his concern. Reisch fills the gap, drawing in part on Celtes' subsequent discussion (b6^v):

Diuias [sc. epistolas] quidem voco: in quibus fidei mysteria, religionum ceremonie, dei cultus, morum atque virtutum seminaria exprimuntur: et vitiorum radices evelluntur. vti est videre in epistolis sanctorum Pauli, Hieronymi, Augustini, Cypriani, Bernardi et Senecæ philosophi moralissimi: atque aliorum plurium huius ordinis hominum [e7^r f. = k6^v].

Celtes divides "human" letters into *grauia*, *consolatoria*, *amatoria*, and *amica* (that is, *familiares*); *amica* are subdivided into *commendaticia* and *hortatoria*. He gives brief definitions or descriptions of the contents of each class. We have a love letter, for instance, when *dulcia exhilarancia et exultancia ad amorem pertinencia petulanter et amorosi scribimus*. Reisch follows Celtes' ordering of the classes, though he replaces the friendly letter class with its two species, elevating them in effect to separate classes. He tends to simplify the descriptions or definitions, and generally omits all the examples. Celtes' exuberant love letter

³⁰Reisch's revision of Celtes' *Ars Memoratiua* is a good illustration of his free handling of his source, but what he does is too complicated to be analyzed satisfactorily here.

becomes, not surprisingly, simply (and sexless): *amatoria: qua verbis petulantibus amorem alterius in nos concitamus*. But Reisch waves a humanist flag when he adds: *Præter hæc [quatuor siue quinque general] autem multa alia sunt epistolarum genera a Mario Philelfo eloquentia præclara, ad octogenarium usque numerum digesta* [e7^v = k6^v].³¹ He later adds as recommended authors of letter collections the names of Gasparino Barzizza³² and Cicero, "the father of eloquence," *quibus te daturum operam velim quam maximam. Nihil enim in scribendo tam clarum aut promptum facit, quam diligenter legisse eos qui bene, limate terseque scripserunt. ab aliis vero vt a labe atque pernicië ingenii fugiendum est* (e8^r = k7^r). The last part of this sentence is taken from Celtes (b6^v f.).

A major part of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century (and earlier) manuals on letter-writing is concerned with the proper address to the recipient. Celtes separates this topic from the salutation where it is usually discussed, because his recommended form of the salutation is based on the simple classical model (N. sends greetings to N.), and associates it with punctuation as something external to the content of the letter, presumably because the address goes on the back or outside of the letter. He organizes the *dignitatis tituli* into three major *ordines* (social ranks): ecclesiastics, the nobility and urban patriciate, members of the university community. Each *ordo* has a principal representative: pope, emperor, and theologians respectively; and three suborders in which the sundry recipients of a letter are classified by social status and appropriate titles suggested for them. The most interesting feature of this scheme is the classification of "poets," that is, university lecturers in literature, as the first suborder under professors of theology in the university community. Needless to say, this ranking hardly corresponds to their real status. Appended at the end, like an afterthought, and

³¹An edition of Giovanni Mario Filelfo's *Novum Epistularium* was published by Johann Amerbach in Basle in 1495 with the title *Epistolare Marii Philelfi* (note Reisch's spelling of the name). The Charterhouse at Buxheim had a copy which is now in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California (Acc. no. 93594). Reisch was prior of this house in 1500-1501 and may have seen this very copy, though its near mint condition suggests it was little if ever read by anyone. The letter-books of the two Filelfi are scathingly dismissed by Vives: *Huic* [sc. Gasparino Barzizza] *succedunt ... lingua tersiores* [than Leonardo Aretino] *Philelphi duo, pater et filius, sententiis inanes et subfrigidi nec compositione satis grata* (above, note 19), fol. 37b.

³²Barzizza is cited by Celtes as a writer of letters in the *grave genus* (b7^r). The *Exercitium puerorum grammaticale* (above, note 9), Tract. II, cap. 1, recommends for reading practice *parue epistolæ virorum magis probatorum electe ex Cicerone, papa Pio* [Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini], *philelpho* [Francesco or Mario?] *aut magistro karolo*. For Barzizza cf. Ludwig Bertalot, "Die älteste Briefsammlung des Gasparinus Barzizza," in Paul O. Kristeller, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, vol. 2 (Rome 1975), pp. 31-102.

essentially outside the main scheme, are relatives and women.

Reisch jettisons this whole business. (He also omits the treatment of punctuation, which he perhaps thought belonged to some other subject and part of the curriculum. In fact, he does not discuss punctuation anywhere in the *Margarita*.) He preserves, however, the social distinctions underlying Celtes' classifications; he could hardly do otherwise. He also takes over many of Celtes' proposed "titles," though he frequently revises them in the direction of simplicity and clarity. In particular, he is much less fulsome than Celtes in his adjectives and terms for the Holy Roman Emperor and the other members of the nobility. It would seem that the Carthusian monk is not much impressed by the claims and pretensions of the German aristocracy. Moreover, Reisch adds a list of epithets for *ciues*, a social group ignored by Celtes except for city officials and the patriciate. Reisch's suggested epithets for ordinary citizens — *prudentes, sagaces, industrii, integerrimi* — make a striking contrast with the adjectives suitable for knights — *aurati, magnanimi, strenui, validi, fortes, nobiles*. One may surmise that Reisch put a higher value on the intellectual capacity of townsfolk than on the physical prowess of the barons, and esteemed the two groups accordingly.

As we might expect, he also puts the Poets in their proper place in the university hierarchy, after the professors of the three higher faculties, but ahead of the masters of arts or regents.³³ He also adds a class of *Oratores* whom one can call *disertissimi* or *facundissimi*. These same epithets may also be used of *poetae*. Reisch seems to view university lecturers in Humanities as a single group, regardless of whether they are known officially or by their own claims as "poets" or "orators." Their defining characteristic is *eloquentia*. We are reminded of the unified view of literature under the dominion of Rhetorica which appears in the headpiece for Book III. On the other hand, Reisch certainly discounts much of the extravagant claims made by Celtes for the poets. Celtes' poets, who possess both knowledge and authority, are to be addressed as

vates, musarum alumni, lauro insignes, hedera decorati, Apollini sacra-
crati, Phoebi interpretes, rerum naturae scientes, historiae patres,
divini, literaturae modulatores, sacro numine afflati, gravissimi,
iucundissimi, ornatissimi, celeberrimi, eloquentissimi, facundissimi,
Romanae linguae principes, humani eloquii ductores, disertissimi,

³³At Freiburg the *poetae* were mostly lecturers in the Faculty of Law; cf. Heath (above, note 8), p. 32. Hence they were inferior to the professors. Elsewhere they were more likely to be attached to the Faculty of Arts and consequently again lower in rank than the professors and other members of the higher faculties.

copiosissimi.

Reisch's poets are limited to

vates, musarum alumni, lauro insignes, hedera decorati, Apollinis interpretes, ornatissimi, eloquentissimi, facundissimi.

The claim to divine inspiration, to authority in matters of language, to independent knowledge of history and natural philosophy is quietly discarded. Here we may prefer to side with Celtes, although in the context of his own times Reisch probably shows the more realistic attitude. His attitude toward this whole practice is stated simply at the end of the chapter and the Tractate on letter-writing:

Haec summarie dicta sufficient. Nam assentandi, adulandiue causa hec omnia ita variata cernes: vt perpaucos reperire possis qui non titulos superiorum inferioribus attribuant [f1^r = k8^r].

Though Celtes likewise terms the practice a form of flattery and evidence of the puerile barbarism of the times (b6^v), the Carthusian prior's basic view of human society differs considerably from that of the patron- and job-seeking poet.³⁴

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* *

These examples of the two authors' approach to their common subject matter should be enough to reveal their methods, which still deserve perhaps to be investigated in further detail. These epitomes, however, are not very impressive as manuals of rhetoric. Their very scale inevitably makes them too sketchy and superficial to be truly worthwhile, much less fully instructive in the elements of the art. Probably their most significant feature is the reversal of the ranking of the *genera causarum*, found in both the *De Inventione* and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and traditional in the whole body of classical rhetoric. In Celtes and Reisch demonstrative oratory occupies the first place and judicial oratory the last. Celtes gives as much space to demonstrative speaking as to deliberative and judicial combined. This represents no doubt the humanistic outlook of the fifteenth century, and probably corresponds to contemporary needs and practice. Demonstrative speaking and writing give the humanist orator the opportunity to display his (and sometimes her) language skills to the utmost. As Celtes observes,

est quo nullum aliud orationis genus vberius ad dicendum: aut vtilius ciuitatibus esse possit aut in quo magis in cognitione virtutum vi-

³⁴Reisch's religious outlook appears sporadically elsewhere in Book III; cf. d7^r, d8^r, e6^r, e7^r = i6^r, i7^r, k5^v, k6^r respectively.

ciorumque versetur oratio. Consumitur autem hoc orationis genus narrandis exponendisque factis et rebus gestis. Et quoniam in hac causa omnis oratio fere ad voluptatem auditoris et ad delectationem refertur vtendum erit verbis insignibus venustis et in ipsa verborum constructione perpolitus vt paria paribus et similia similibus referantur (a3').

Reisch, whose interests lie elsewhere³⁵ and who would himself apparently think of rhetoric as useful primarily for preachers, omits all of this statement, except the sentence on narrating and expounding exploits to which he adds *bonis aut malis*.

The two epitomes, and especially Reisch's, have one further significance for us. They attest the low estate to which rhetoric had fallen in the universities of northern Europe, despite the powerful claims made in the iconography of this Liberal Art or the exaggerated assertions of a Celtes. There is little point in making rhetoric the seedbed of eloquence if one is not going to make the necessary effort to prepare the soil. Though Reisch is often, and to some extent rightly, praised for his humanistic bent, he is basically a scholastic, and seems unaware of or else essentially indifferent to the fundamental issues posed by the humanists.³⁶ Though Celtes is ultimately responsible for the low quality of this survey of rhetoric, Reisch obviously had no desire to set his sights any higher. In this he doubtless reflected the educational views and expectations of his contemporaries, at least in upper Germany. It may not be too harsh to call these works the nadir of the classical tradition of rhetoric in northern Europe. But the very generation for which Celtes and Reisch were writing would soon change this situation.

Appendix

A list of the sections and chapter headings in Celtes' *Epitoma* and Reisch's *Margarita* shows the scope of the two works and the extent of Reisch's dependence on Celtes. Reisch numbers each section and chapter of his Book; Celtes gives only headings. In the following *Appendix* Celtes is cited in the left-hand column, and Reisch in the right.

³⁵His main interests seem to have been in mathematics, natural science, and theology. Cf. the studies cited in note 1 above.

³⁶Cf. Heath (above, note 8), pp. 33-34.

Epitoma...cum preceptis et locis
constitutionum et orationum...

De generibus causarum

De oratione demonstratiua consti-
tuenda et a quibus locis

De oratione deliberatiua consti-
tuenda et a quibus locis

De oratione iudiciali constituenda
et a quibus locis

De quinque partibus orationis

De exordiendi narrandi confir-
mandique preceptis

De argumentatione qua circa
confirmationes nostras vtimur

De disponendi et concludendi
rationibus

De elocutione

Libri III.Tractatus primus De
partibus orationis rhetorice.

1. Quid Rhetorica: a quo primo
tradita: quid rhetor: quid rhetoris
officium: et quot genera causarum.

2. De Oratione demonstratiua et a
quibus locis constituenda sit.

3. De Oratione deliberatiua: et a
quibus locis constituenda.

4. De Oratione iudiciali: et a
quibus locis constituenda.

5. De Partibus orationis in genere.

6. De Inuentione et eiusdem par-
tibus.

7. De Exordio.

8. De narratione et diuisione.

9. De confirmatione: confutatione:
et constitutione [i.e. stasis]

10. De Argumentatione.

11. De Conclusionem.

12. De Dispositione.

13. De Elocutione

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|--|--|
| | 14. De Elegantia |
| | 15. De compositione litterarum syllabarum et dictionum. |
| | 16. De Compositione partium orationis. |
| De orationis dignitate | 17. De Dignitate orationis et verborum exornationibus. |
| [Heading is omitted] | 18. De aliis verborum exornationibus quibus non eadem verba sed verborum vis effertur. |
| De aliis exornationibus | 19. De exornationibus verborum simplicioribus. |
| | 20. De reliquis verborum exornationibus sentiis admixtis. |
| De coloribus sententiarum | 21. De Sententiarum coloribus. |
| De pronuntiatione | 22. De pronuntiatione penultima parte orationis rhetorialis. |
| De artificiali memoria.
[Cf. infra] | 23. De Memoria.
Exemplum Memoriae artificialis sive localis. |
| Tractatus de condendis epistolis. | Libri III. Tractatus secundus De Epistolis condendis. |
| Epistolarum diuisio | 1. De Epistolarum diuisione. |
| De partibus epistole. | 2. De Partibus epistole. |
| De inicio constituendo | 3. De Salutatione. |

	4. De Exordio.
De causa et narratione quae per expositionem fit.	5. De Narratione. ³⁷
De enumeratione.	6. De Conclusionem
De caractere [i.e. punctuation and the outside address]	7. De Superscriptione.
Peroratio [to the <i>Epitoma</i>]	[Reisch ends: Vale. et in his finem Triuii statuendum agnosce.]
Sequuntur elementa siue characteres memoratiue artis secundum loca et imagines non sine industria in latinis literas inuente.	

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³⁷This chapter is the heart of Celtes' treatment of letter-writing; Reisch omits almost all of it!

Is it Really the Accusative? A Century-Old Controversy Revisited

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The stages involved in the disintegration of the classical Latin system of declensions and its evolution during the centuries that preceded the “birth” of the Romance languages have been adequately outlined by leading Romanists of both past and present. The undisputed master of Romance linguistics in our century, Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, summed up the opinion of his generation when he insisted on the Latin accusative as being the Romance “Normalkasus,” with due allowances for the Latin nominative as reflected, for instance, in the *cas sujet* of Old French and Old Provençal and the plurals of Italian and Rumanian nouns.¹ Anchored in the Diezian theory of the Latin accusative as the progenitor of the Old French and Old Provençal oblique case and the single case forms of the other Romance languages, Meyer-Lübke’s view that, except for sporadic instances of nominative derivation, the Romance noun is, in essence, a survival of classical Latin accusative forms both in the singular and the plural has generally prevailed, despite an occasional voice offering convincing arguments to the contrary.

The first scholars on record to challenge this “accusative theory” were the Italians D’Ovidio and Ascoli. The former, the catalyst for the subsequent declensional combat waged by Ascoli and Meyer-Lübke, set out to show in his *Sull’origine dell’unica flessione del nome* (1872), that the post-classical form *servo* comprised not a single case but the classical nominative *servus*, dative/ablative *servo*, and accusative *servum*, in the singular, and that the plural *servi* represented classical nominative *servi* and the dative/ablative *servis*. As to the genitive singular *servi* and

¹ *Grammatik der romanischen Sprachen* (Leipzig 1890-1902), Vol. II, pp. 25-27.

the accusative plural *servos*, these forms were simply dropped, under pressure of the surviving cases.² What the Italian scholar claimed, in other words, was that the single case of Italian forms like *servo*, *buono*, *morte*, (or Spanish *siervo*, *bueno*, *muerte* for that matter) does not represent a particular case of the classical Latin declension that prevailed because of some logical or intentional reason ("per una ragione logica o intenzionale"), but is rather a phonological outcome of the fusion of two oblique cases (accusative and ablative) which prevailed in the spoken language of the Empire (e.g. *morte(m)*, *de morte*); joined by the nominative in the case of the first declension singular (e.g. *ala*, *ad ala(m)*, *de ala*), and that a similar process occurred in the plural, except that where phonetic equivalence was not possible the choice of the surviving form was aided by analogical pressure, as when *servos* was suppressed in Italian by a coalition of *servi* and *servis*.

Despite Ascoli's vigorous defense and support of D'Ovidio's *dottrina*,³ based primarily upon the development of imparisyllabic third declension neuter nouns in the Romance languages, Romance linguists have continued to toe the traditional Diezian line, basing themselves mainly on deductive retracements from the Romance languages to a hypothetical Vulgar Latin or to attested classical forms (or merely repeating what their predecessors had said), with little or no reference to the written documents of the period involved.⁴

²Reported also in Meyer-Lübke, *ibid.*, p. 27.

³Review of F. D'Ovidio's study in *Archivio Glottologico Italiano*, 2 (1876), pp. 416-38. Ascoli dealt with this problem also in subsequent studies: cf. *Archivio* 3 (1878), pp. 466-67; 4 (1878), pp. 398-402; and 10 (1888), pp. 262-69.

⁴Most standard manuals on Romance linguistics have continued to adhere to the Meyer-Lübke view. Typical in this connection is the statement by W. Elcock: "If, in giving Latin etyma, it is usual to quote the accusative, this is because the accusative case alone was normally the source of the modern Romance substantive" (*The Romance Languages*, [2nd ed., London 1975], p. 73). In the same vein E. Bourciez states, in his classic *Eléments de linguistique romane* (4th ed., Paris 1956), that the accusative is "le cas des mots latins conservé d'ordinaire en roman" (p. 746 and *passim*). He traces the absorption of the other cases by the accusative as far back as the first century of our era and illustrates this phenomenon with the single example *Saturninus cum discentes* (p. 87), an example that, to my mind, has been overworked to show the alleged early use of the accusative with all prepositions and its generalized use in all oblique functions. Cf. G. Alessio (*Le origini del francese*, Firenze 1946) who, with reference to the construction *de tempulo* for the expected *templi* found on a fifth century Christian inscription makes the rather startling comment "che mostra il genitivo latino sostituito da *de* con l'accusativo" (p. 93); cf. also Maria Iliescu, "Gibt es einen 'casus generalis'?" *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, 16: 4 (1971), pp. 327-331, who argues in favor of the accusative as the sole *casus praepositionalis* in Late Latin. — Meyer-Lübke's imprint is also quite pronounced with C. H. Grandgent (*An Introduction to Vulgar Latin*, repr. New York 1962), who concludes that in Gaul and Spain the forms preserved were the accusative singular and the

The persistence of the belief that the Romance noun derives primarily from the Latin accusative is all the more surprising since, in the intervening years (certainly since the publication of Meyer-Lübke's *Grammatik*) a number of works have appeared concerned with a direct study of Latin documents, casting serious doubts on the "accusative theory" in favor of what we might call an "oblique case theory," what Ascoli had already referred to as the "teoria dell'unico obliquo"; Haag's *Die Latinität Fredegars* (1898), Schramm's *Sprachliches zur Lex Salica* (1911), Taylor's *The Latinity of the Liber Francorum* (1924), Pei's *Language of the Eighth-Century Documents of Northern France* (1932), and Sas' *The Noun Declension System in Merovingian Latin* (1937) come readily to mind. Indeed, the evidence that these researchers cull from their respective documents seems to point rather clearly to the fact that *one* case with a form ending in either *-a*, *-o*, or *-e* has developed in the singular as a substitute for all classical Latin cases, except the nominative (in a ratio of nearly 200 forms in *-a*, *-o*, and *-e*, as against 15 forms in *-am*, *-um*, and *-em* in the *Historia Francorum*), and with *-as*, *-os*, *-es*, or *-is* in the plural.⁵

In an article entitled "Accusative or Oblique" which, to my mind, has not received from Romance scholars the attention and credit which it deserves, and has been generally neglected in the discussions of the derivation of the Romance noun, Mario Pei⁶ addresses himself to what he calls "a time-honored controversy in the field of Romance philology, to wit, whether the oblique case of Old French and Old Provençal, as well as the single case of other Romance languages, is the direct descendant of the Classical Latin accusative, with the other oblique cases of Classical Latin thrown into the discard; or the result of a merger of Classical Latin accusative, ablative, and dative, brought about by the phonetic equivalence of the singular ending in two of the three major declensions, and then gradually extended, by a syntactical process of analogy, to cover the dative singular of the first declension, the genitive singular of the three declensions, and those plural forms which could not phonetically coalesce" (p. 242). Pei reviews and critically comments upon each of the four major arguments advanced by supporters of the "accusative theory:"

1) Monosyllabic words with final *-m* (Fr. *rien*, *mon*, *ton*, *son*; Sp. *quien*; It. *speme*) indicate the accusative form. Pei cites examples in which this final

accusative plural, while in Italy and Rumania the surviving cases are the accusative singular and the nominative plural (p. 156).

⁵Cf. Mario Pei, *The Language of the Eighth-Century Texts in Northern France* (New York 1932), pp. 212-13.

⁶*Romanic Review*, 28 (1937), pp. 241-67.

consonant is not retained, as in Italian dialectal forms *mo*, *ma*, *to*, *ta* or French *ma*, *ta*, *sa*, and wonders whether retention of final *-m* in monosyllabic words, rather than providing the survival of the accusative pure and simple, would not merely point to the survival of *certain* accusative forms, and nothing more.

2) Logudorese, which keeps final *-o* and *-u* distinct (*otto*, *amo* versus *chentù*, *cantamus*) has a form ending in *-u* for second declension nouns and adjectives (*oru*, *chelu*, *duru*, *plenu*). Pei thinks that the phonetic conflict between final *-o* and *-u* outcomes for second declension nouns and adjectives seems to have been a long one, judging from reports by Wagner and Meyer-Lübke himself,⁷ as well as the earliest Sardinian documents, until the *-o* endings succumbed to *-u* endings, proving at best that in the sole instance where phonetic merger of the oblique cases was not possible, the accusative prevailed. "And this," Pei adds, "in a single region of Romance territory, very limited in extent and almost severed from communication with the rest of the Latin-speaking world at the very time when the all-important process of declensional change was beginning" (p. 245).

3) Various Italian dialects which admit umlaut indicate that the final vowel that causes umlaut in the singular is *-u*, not *-o*, e.g., southern Italian *BONŮ* > *buonə*, which distinguishes masculine singular from feminine *bonə* < *BŌNA*. Without rejecting Meyer-Lübke's attempt to prove that where umlaut appears in certain south and central Italian dialects the final vowel causing the umlaut is *-u*, not *-o*,⁸ Pei points out that examples in which the umlaut appears to have been produced by a final *-o* to the exclusion of *-u* are not wanting.⁹

4) Imparisyllabic neuter third-declension nouns develop into the Romance languages from the accusative, not from the ablative form. Pei devotes the bulk of his article to this, what he calls "the crux of the question," to wit the survival of accusative and ablative forms of these nouns where accusative and ablative could not phonetically merge and the conflict had to be solved along lines of individual choice. We are presented with a complete study of the Romance descendants of 135 third declension imparisyllabic neuter nouns given in Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* and Körting's *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*, including both attested and hypothetical forms, which purports to evaluate the opposing views of Ascoli, the champion of the oblique case theory, and Meyer-Lübke, the defender of the accusative case doctrine. Let us recall, parenthetically, that Ascoli had presented in various studies devoted to this very question a large number of ablative survivals,

⁷Pei cites M.-L. Wagner, *Lautehre der südsardischen Mundarten* (Halle a.S 1907), p. 17, and W. Meyer-Lübke, *Zur Kenntnis des Altlogudoresischen* (Wien 1902), p. 13.

⁸Cf. W. Meyer-Lübke, *Grammatik*, I, pp. 99 and 132.

⁹Cf. also G. Ascoli, *Archivio*, 10 (1888), pp. 260-71, specifically his statement "Nell'Italia meridionale l' *-o* riagisce sulle tonica al modo dell' *-i*" (p. 264).

setting them off against an approximately equal number of accusative survivals, and concluded that this indecision of the Romance languages in the case where phonetic fusion was impossible furnished proof of his "oblique case theory."¹⁰ Meyer-Lübke, in his refutation, undertook to destroy Ascoli's ablative examples by claiming, in some cases, transfer from the neuter to the masculine gender, in others that the forms alleged by Ascoli were learned, in others that the forms adduced were reconstructed from the plural or from verbs, and still in others that a Vulgar Latin form coexisted side by side with the attested form; and when here and there an ablative form presented itself for which no explanation was possible, the form was labeled as exceptional and unaccounted for.¹¹

For his analysis, Pei classifies third declension imparisyllabic neuter nouns into three general types, each of which presents peculiar possibilities of development. These are: (1) nouns that are monosyllabic in the nominative-accusative and disyllabic in the other oblique case, e.g., *far*, *farre* 'grain, spelt'; (2) polysyllabic nouns that shift the stress from nominative/accusative to the other oblique cases, the *á**nimal*, *animá**le* type; and (3) polysyllabic nouns in which the position of the stress is retained throughout, the *cá**put*, *cá**pí**te* type, which includes the numerous *´men*, *´mine* group of neuters of the *aerá**men*, *aerá**mine* type also. After examining corresponding Romance developments of nouns in each of these categories, Pei draws the following conclusions, based on his observations:

1) Developments in the small monosyllabic group suggest an approximately equal number of apparent accusative and ablative survivals. Pei considers the double development of Lat. FEL in It. *fele* (acc.) and *felle* (abl.) to be significant in this connection.

2) Nouns of the stress-shifting type tend toward the ablative derivation, but there is a sufficient number of accusative survivals: OFr. *erre*, *oirre*, and It. *erre* from Lat. ITER, which indicate that a conflict existed here also.

3) By reason of its numbers and its variety, Pei breaks up the third class of nouns (polysyllabic with no shift of stress) into sub-types: (a) nouns of the *nomen* type indicate a preference for the accusative in Rumanian, Italian, Rhetian, French, and Provençal and for the ablative in Spanish (*pos nomine* in a mid-7th century inscription), and, possibly, Portuguese,¹² with double development in Sardinian (derivation from *´men* and *´mene* or *´mine*) and enough forms running counter to the general trend to give definite evidence of conflict; (b) nouns of the *´or*, *´ur* type (e.g., *marmor*, *fulgur*) indicate at least as many ablative as accusative derivations, in addition to showing double developments

¹⁰See the references in note 3, above.

¹¹*Grammatik* II, pp. 12-16, 19-20.

¹²Cf. M. Pei, "Accusative versus Oblique in Portuguese," *Romanic Review*, 30 (1939), pp. 189-91.

in the same language, as in It. *marmo* and *marmore* or *zolfo* and *solforo*; (c) both ablative and accusative derivations for *-us*, *-ere* type nouns as in It. *genere*, Fr. *genre* (Sp. and Port. *genero* being learned forms) versus OFr. *giens*, Prov. *gens* or Fr. *oeuvre* versus It. *uopo*, OProv./Cat. *ops*,¹³ while for nouns in *-ús* of the *corpus*, *pectus*, *tempus* type Pei finds a majority of accusative derivations which he explains as due, in part, to a natural tendency of such nouns to become confused with second-declension masculines. He points out that there are numerous ablative survivals in this group of nouns also.

Pei's evidence rather clearly suggests that where accusative and ablative forms could not coincide, a conflict occurred in each of the three general types of neuter imparisyllabics, a conflict which persists to this day. This fact, rather than weakening, actually strengthens the stance taken by proponents of the "oblique case theory" since they can freely concede any number of accusative survivals, provided they can show at the same time a considerable body of ablative survivals to counterbalance derivations from the accusative, while defenders of the "accusative theory," in order to establish their point, find themselves compelled to disprove all, or nearly all, ablative survivals. In summary, then, the "oblique theorist" holds that accusative and ablative (and in some cases dative too) merged in the singular where phonetically possible, but that where such phonetic fusion was not possible, a conflict arose between the two forms, one or the other being forced to yield. This conflict, as Pei remarks, "arising at a time when the bonds that held the Empire together were loosened, could perfectly well have a different solution in different portions of the Romance area, Italian, for instance, preferring the accusative form of a given word while Spanish chose the ablative" (p. 244).¹⁴

As stated earlier, Pei and his contemporaries find ample confirmation of the oblique case thesis in late Vulgar Latin texts, thus presenting a serious challenge to the traditional point of view that the accusative case alone was normally the source of the Romance noun. There is little doubt in my mind that the researches of these scholars have been instrumental in modifying some Romanists' earlier position

¹³Meyer-Lübke (*Grammatik* II, p. 14) claimed that ablative forms in this noun category were learned forms.

¹⁴In his study entitled "Neuters, Mass-Nouns and the Ablative in Romance" (*Language* 44 [1968], pp. 480-86), Robert Hall, Jr. makes a convincing case for the ablative derivation of mass-nouns in Ibero- and Italo-Romance dialects, thereby not only recognizing the ablative as a viable case form in Proto-Romance but, to my mind, also furnishing additional ammunition to those who oppose the accusative theory.

on this issue.¹⁵

For the balance of this paper, I should like to summarize briefly my own findings based on an analysis of inscriptional material and what it reveals in terms of the accusative versus oblique controversy. The corpus chosen for my demonstration is made up of Latin Christian inscriptions published in Ernst Diehl's *Inscriptiones Latinae Veteres*,¹⁶ about 5,000 in number from all areas of the Western Roman Empire, covering the period from about the end of the third century to the early seventh century. The data are taken from my recent study of nominal inflection in Latin inscriptions.¹⁷ For reasons that, I hope, will become obvious I will treat singular and plural separately. Here, then, is the evidence:

1) The *-a* spelling of first declension nouns and adjectives in direct object (accusative) function and with prepositions which, in accordance with traditional grammar, would require the accusative case, outweighs the expected *-am* spelling. This suggests that Latin accusative and ablative have completely merged in speech to a single /a/ phoneme as a sort of "Universalkasus" serving several syntactic oblique functions, represented in writing by either *-a* or *am*, depending on the writer's training in formal grammar or school reminiscences, his *Bildungserlebnis*. Thus, he may attach an occasional *-m* to his spoken language form in /a/ because of its constant occurrence in readings that he may have done. This blurring of case consciousness is particularly evident in the indeterminate use of forms in *-a* and *-am* after prepositions (with a definite trend towards a universal *-a*, however, e.g. *ad mesa* [2128 a. 409], *ad vita* [1454B], with many hypercorrections like *cum virginiam suam* [4251], *cum uxorem suam* [2883 a. 360], as well as hybrid constructions of the *ad veram vita* [4827], or *cum compare suam* [374] kind).

¹⁵Thus, for instance, Veikko Väänänen who in his *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes* (originally published in 1937 [Helsinki], now in its third edition [Berlin 1966]) still concludes that "Le système casuel est en train de se réduire...l'accusatif est en voie de devenir le cas oblique par excellence, qui supprime de plus en plus l'ablatif comme régime des prépositions *ab* et *cum*..." (p. 129). In his classic manual *Introduction au latin vulgaire* (first published in 1963 [Paris], now in its third edition [Paris 1981]) the Finnish scholar is less rigorous in his approach to this problem when he concludes that "L'accusatif comme origine du régime roman ne fait pas de doute pour le pluriel" (p. 116), while in the singular the common denominator of oblique forms where old Latin case endings were lost "est un cas oblique syncrétique," the point of departure being the accusative in competition with the ablative where these case endings do not coincide (p. 117).

¹⁶In three volumes (2nd ed., Berlin 1961) with a supplement edited by J. Moreau and H. I. Marrou (Berlin 1967).

¹⁷Paul A. Gaeng, *A Study of Nominal Inflection in Latin Inscriptions; a Morpho-Syntactic Analysis* (Chapel Hill 1977).

2) The situation in the singular of second declension nouns and adjectives is complicated by the fact that many forms in both classical accusative and ablative functions are spelled with *-u*, although apparent accusative forms in *-o* both after verbs and prepositions (traditionally requiring a form in *-um*) are amply attested, as in *voto suo fecet* (1927 a. 470), *titulo posuerunt* (4160), *contra voto* (338a a. 546), and such hybrids as *contra votum suo* (756). As I have attempted to show elsewhere,¹⁸ it is futile to try to determine whether orthographic *-u* represents a classical accusative form with final *-m* omitted or an ablative, since with the disappearance of *-m*, forms like *votu* and *voto* fell together in pronunciation as /voto/,¹⁹ bringing about a collapse of accusative/ablative distinction, even though a formal distinction may still have been observed on the orthographic level. The orthographic uncertainty in the use of correct case endings after prepositions and the consequent hypercorrections of the *cum maritum* (4219B a. 392) and *in hoc tumultum* (3550 a. 511) kind, hybrid constructions like *contra votum suo* (756), or the concurrent use of the constructions *cum virginium suum* and *cum virginio suo* on the same stone (1263 a/b), would further seem to strengthen my conclusion that in the singular of this declension also there had emerged in the spoken language a single *oblique* case form on the level of content, in which semantic relationship was no longer bound to morphological distinction, neither accusative nor ablative, but a “Universalkasus” which fulfilled the functions of dative, accusative, ablative, and, in some instances, also genitive.

3) The state of affairs found in the singular of first declension nouns and adjectives is paralleled in the third declension. In fact, the ratio of clearly predominating forms in *-e* in classical accusative functions, with respect to the expected forms in *-em*, is even more pronounced than in the first declension. In addition to the plethora of forms in *-e* to signal direct object function, as in *ut urbe videret* (4812A), *maledictione auea* (= *habeat*) (3852), *queius fidelitatem et castitate et bonitate experti sunt* (2157), showing forms in *-e* and *-em* used in the same function, constructions like *post morte* (846 ca. 6th cent.), *propter caritate* (554), *ad fratre et sorore* (3748), orthographic hypercorrections like *pro caritatem* (1374, 2252, 4161) and *cum coniugem* (passim), as well as hybrids like *cum parem suo* (4238) lead to the legitimate conclusion that here too a generalized oblique case form in /e/ had emerged which, in various syntactic functions, on the plane of expression, was represented by written forms in *-e* or *-em*.

¹⁸Paul A. Gaeng, “Interpreting Second Declension Forms in *-u*,” *Illinois Classical Studies* IV (1979), pp. 214-19.

¹⁹Cf. Gaeng, *Nominal Inflection*, pp. 99-101.

4) The evidence culled from the study of first, second, and third declension plurals presents a picture that is different from the singular, in that in all three declensions it is the classical accusative form (or what appears to be the classical accusative) that tends to supplant other oblique cases: *cum filias suas* (4559 a. 518), *ad duos fratres* (150), *cum filios* (2366A), *cum tuos omnes* (2192D), *cum sororis* (= *sorores*) *suas* (808), *con parentes* (3829), *pro fratres et sodales tuos* (2343), etc. This finding seems to be in accord with generally accepted theory.²⁰ But, just because the oblique "Universalkasus" in the plural happens to coincide with the accusative form, is it legitimate to apply the "accusative theory" to the singular also? My inscriptional evidence clearly suggests that the "Universalkasus" in the singular represents rather a merger of Latin accusative/ablative into a single spoken form, namely /a/, /o/, and /e/ in the respective declensional classes (with a possible allophonic /u/ in the second declension) represented in writing by forms in *-a*, *-o*, (*-u*), and *-e*, as well as residual *-am*, *-um*, and *-em*, used in a variety of syntactic functions. The conclusions drawn from my own and other similar evidence mentioned earlier in this paper which argues against a universal accusative derivation of the Romance noun in the *singular*, in no way precludes individual survivals of the classical accusative case, as, for instance, the form *rem* used invariably in both direct and all prepositional functions (*de rem sua* [521, ca. 4th/5th cent.]), or the imparisyllabics of the *corpus* and *nomen* types, just as there are sporadic survivals of the classical nominative, genitive and ablative/locative, e.g. *Florentiae*.²¹

²⁰See Väänänen's conclusions on this point in note 15 above. Cf. also Theodoro Maurer (*Gramática do latim vulgar*, Rio de Janeiro 1959): "De fato, a documentação epigráfica...nos dá o acusativo no plural quase sem exceção" (p. 89).

²¹Despite persistent voices to the contrary, e.g., Thomas A. Lathrop, *The Evolution of Spanish*, Newark, Del. 1980 ("...of the five main cases of Classical Latin only two [the nominative and the accusative] were used in Vulgar Latin" [p. 21]), the conclusion that the Romance noun, at least in the *singular*, represents a merger of various *casus obliqui*, rather than a universal survival of the Latin accusative in all syntactic functions, is echoed in some recent articles and manuals that either directly deal with or touch upon this problem. Most note-worthy are an essay by Robert Hall, Jr., "The Gradual Decline of Case in Romance Substantives," in Frans van Coetsem and Linda R. Waugh, ed., *Contributions to Historical Linguistics*, Leiden 1980, pp. 261-69 (where the theory of accusative derivation of the Romance noun is referred to as an "oversimplified view" of the facts), a brief study by Ralph Penny, "Do Romance Nouns Descend from the Accusative? Preliminaries to a Reassessment of the Noun-Morphology of Romance," *Romance Philology*, 34:4 (1980), pp. 501-09 (in which the author terms "inadequate" the notion that Romance nouns descend from the Latin accusative), and the excellent three-volume *Grammatica storia dell'italiano*, Bologna 1980, by Pavao Tekavčić, who also resolutely concludes: "Derivare i sostantivi romanzi da un solo caso latino non ci pare possibile né metodologicamente esatto: finché i casi esistono e funzionano, è inconcepibile che un ac-

In connection with the plural oblique forms in *-as*, *-os*, and *-es* continued in those Romance dialects where plurality is marked by *-s*, Ascoli suggested that forms like *barbas*, *bonos*, and *torres* survived through natural selection of that form in which the singular "Universalkasus" was reflected and that there was no intentional preference of logic involved in the choice. In other words, according to the Italian scholar, the plural oblique (coinciding in form with the accusative case) would simply reflect a popular tendency to add the plural *-s* marker to the oblique singular form, thus establishing a symmetry between singular and plural.²² And why not? May we assume, for the sake of argument, that an expression like *cum discentes* is but the plural equivalent of a singular *cum discente*, that is, an oblique singular form provided with an *-s* marker and, hence, call it a *plural* oblique, rather than an accusative? We could thus establish a symmetry in terminology also by using the term *oblique* for *both* singular and plural.

Rohlf's once said that the collapse of the Latin inflectional system was due to the multiplicity of flexional types and the inability of the unschooled speaker to handle correct case endings.²³ Assuming then, with Rohlf's, that the bulk of grammatically ignorant speakers of the Empire could not be supposed to have been able to handle the sophisticated morphological mechanism of Latin, the "oblique theory" makes all the more sense since it postulates a "Universalkasus" in both singular and plural that could be easily handled by the untutored speaker in all syntactic functions. The mass of inductive evidence in favor of this theory is impressive and should not be swept under the rug by those who prefer to follow views deductively arrived at in disregard of all the available data.

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cusativo possa sostituire un nominativo e viceversa; quando le forme casuali sono sparite, quando le funzioni si esprimono con le perifrasi preposizionali, non si può nemmeno parlare più nei termini dei singoli casi latini" (Vol. II, p. 38). — For an entirely different point of view that rejects both the accusative and the oblique theory and argues in favor of a generalized nominative case as the progenitor of the Romance noun, cf. Maria Iliescu, "Stammen die romanischen Substantive lateinischen Ursprungs von der Akkusativform ab?," *Revue roumaine de linguistique*, 14 (1969), pp. 477-79. For the view that the noun-forms of Romance, both singular and plural, are the result of an amalgamation of the nominative and oblique forms of Vulgar Latin, cf. R. Penny's article referred to above.

²²Cf. *Archivio*, 2 (1876), p. 421.

²³Gerhard Rohlf's, *Historische Grammatik der italienischen Sprache*, Vol. II (Bern 1949), p. 433.

More Roman Light on Rabbinic Texts¹

HOWARD JACOBSON

The word **אלאיקי** (אלעיקי) occurs in two Rabbinic texts. Of the numerous explanations that have been offered,² most have been rejected because they are linguistically absurd (e.g. Jastrow's derivation from **אלקים**) or because they make no contextual sense. But one solution is widely accepted, that **אלאיקי** derives from Greek $\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta$ plus Hebrew **על** and means, "in vain, for nothing, rashly."³ It therefore needs to be pointed out that this view has serious difficulties and should not be wholeheartedly applauded.

In the first place, the addition of **על** to the adverb $\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta$ is puzzling. It is true that Syriac uses $\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta$ frequently but this makes the addition of **על** here all the more questionable. *Hebrew* parallels like **על מגן** and **על חנם** provide but little support. Further, though the manuscripts differ in their spelling of this word, they are unanimous in reading **אל** and not **על**.⁴

¹See *Illinois Classical Studies* V (1980), pp. 57-62. The following reference works are cited throughout in abbreviated form: *Plenus Aruch Targum-Talmudico-Midrash Ver-bale et Reale Lexicon*, ed. A. Kohut (4 vols., Vienna 1878-92); M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (repr. New York 1967); S. Krauss, *Griechische und Lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1899); J. Levy, *Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim* (Darmstadt 1963; repr. of 2nd ed. of 1924); J. Fürst, *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraicum* (Strassbourg 1890).

²For lists of suggestions see the lexicons of Jastrow (p. 70), Fürst (p. 49), the *Aruch* (1. 106), Krauss (vol. 2, p. 50), and also S. Buber's edition of the *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (Lyck 1868), p. 104a, note 81.

³The solution is De Lara's and is accepted by Fürst, Krauss, S. Lieberman (*Hellen-ism in Jewish Palestine*, New York 1950, p. 213) and B. Mandelbaum in his edition of the *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (New York 1962), p. 212.

⁴Though **אלתר** (= **על אתר**) might provide a useful parallel.

Secondly, in one of the two passages in which אליקי occurs, $\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\eta$ hardly makes sense. One can see the point at *Cant. Rab. ad* 1:4:

בשעה שעמדו ישראל לפני הר סיני לקבל
התורה אמר להם הקב"ה, אלעיקי אני נותן
לכם את התורה, אלא הביאו לי ערבים
טובים שתשמרוה ואני נותנה לכם.

But *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana, Bahodesh Hashelishi* is problematic.⁵

למלך שהיה מבקש ליקח אשה בת טובים ובת
גנוסים. אמר, אליקי איני תובע בה, משאני
עושה עמה כמה טובות ואחר כך אני תובע בה.

Does "rashly" or "vainly" give good sense here? Mandelbaum translates בחנם. If by this he means "at no expense" (which makes some contextual sense),⁶ we should note that $\epsilon\lambda\iota\kappa\eta$ does not carry this meaning.

אליקי (the spelling of the *Aruch* and evidently also of the best manuscript of the *Pesikta*⁷) may then be *ilico*, a colloquial word used at all stages and periods of the Latin language. This matches the Hebrew orthography quite well⁸ and gives impeccable sense in both passages: "Shall I give you the Torah on the spot? Bring me guarantors and I will give it to you." "I don't ask her hand on the spot. After I have done several good things for her, then I will ask for her hand."

The word קורדייקוס occurs several times in the Talmud⁹ and it is clear from the contexts that it refers to a temporary seizure of "insanity" (or to the person suffering from such an attack). Translators, lexicons and commentaries assert that this is the Greek word

⁵Buber, p. 104a, Mandelbaum, p. 212.

⁶W. G. Braude and I. J. Kapstein (trans.), *Pesikta de-Rab Kahana* (London 1975), p. 236, seem to follow this line, translating "Without doing something in her behalf, I shall not ask her hand in marriage. Only after I do a great many good things in her behalf, will I ask for her hand."

⁷So, at all events, Buber reports of the Oxford manuscript. There is no such indication in Mandelbaum.

⁸For א = *i* cf. אמפרטור. The only flaw in an otherwise perfect transiteration is the final "yod," which could be a degeneration in pronunciation or perhaps a corruption in the manuscripts of "vav" to "yod."

⁹*Gittin* 7. I; *bGittin* 67b, *jGittin* 48c36, *jTerum* 40b36.

καρδιακός,¹⁰ though most note that the Greek word never seems to convey this meaning.¹¹ The illness known as καρδιακός (ή) is a rather more elaborate physical disease as can be seen from the lengthy clinical description of its symptomatology at Caelius Aurelianus *celerum vel acutiarum passionum* II. 30. 161 - II. 36. 190, and scarcely seems to suit the requirements of the Talmudic contexts.

In spite of this, the view that קרדיקוס = καρδιακός is fundamentally correct. But we must look to the Roman version of the word, *cardiacus*. For it is clear that there was a Roman use of the term, perhaps colloquial, to signify a temporary state of "insanity" (delusion, ecstasy, *vel sim.*). Thus, Firmicus Maternus (III. 5. 29) notes that a certain conjunction of the planets makes some people *deliros aut cardiacos aut freneticos* and similarly Tertullian (*de anima* 43. 8) couples *phreneticam atque cardiacam* (*valetudines*) as abnormal conditions that adversely affect a person's sleep. And from a particularly illuminating passage in Cicero (*de div.* I. 38. 81) we can easily infer that there were people who believed that the ability to foretell the future was connected to one's being *cardiacus*, which makes perfect sense within the ancient context of the association of prophetic ability with insanity. Finally, all commentators seem to ignore the difficulty posed by the spelling -קור to represent καρ-. But this too is explicable when we realize that the influence here derives from Roman, not Greek, roots. Evidently the Romans not only adopted Greek καρδιακός in its Greek pronunciation and spelling (*cardiacus*), but also used a second pronunciation and spelling, *cordiacus*, most probably by assimilation to Latin *cor*. Thus, we find in several sources *cordiacus*, as well as *cardiacus*. *Gloss.* II 338.55 gives καρδιακός — *cordiacus* and the *Notae Tironianae* (ed. Schmitz) lists both *cardiacus* (Tab. 111.51) and *cordiacus* (111.52).¹²

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¹⁰E.g., Jastrow p. 1341, *Aruch* 7. 189, Levy 4. 275, Krauss p. 519, the Soncino translation of *Gittin* (ad 67b, p. 320), Albeck in his edition of the Mishnah (*Seder Nashim*, p. 404).

¹¹Some refuse to accept the identification on precisely these grounds, e.g. L. Goldschmidt *ad Gittin* 67b (Berlin 1932, p. 411) who suggests a derivation from κορδάκος, "Der Taumler." This view is approved by H. and H. Guggenheimer in *Leshoneinu* 35 (1971), p. 209, n. 14. If κορδάκος is meant to be genitive of κόρδαξ (the accent is wrong), it should be noted that κόρδαξ does not mean "Der Taumler." If it is intended to be a nominative, it should be noted that such a word does not seem to exist.

¹²I am indebted to Professor Daniel Sperber for helpful criticisms.

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His early academic teaching experience was in New England. Later he was appointed to the University of Minnesota, where he served from 1937 to 1949, progressing from his initial position of Assistant Professor to Professor and Chairman (1947-1949). In 1949 Professor Heller was called to the University of Illinois where he served as Professor and Head of Department until 1966. He retired as Professor Emeritus in 1975.

Dr. Heller has been a member of Phi Beta Kappa since 1926. In 1961-62 he was President of the Illinois Classical Conference. He was Editor for Notes of the Classical Association for the Middle West and South from 1943-45. He was Editor of Publications for the American Philological Association from 1946-50 and again in 1957. He was President of the APA in 1966. He is also a member of the Archaeological Institute of America and of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural Science. In 1969-70 he was invited to the University of Pittsburgh as Visiting Mellon Professor of Classics.

Doctoral Dissertations directed by Professor Heller at the University of Illinois (except as noted) include:

- T. O. MacAdoo, "The Modification of Adjectives in Greek by means of Prefixes" (1952);
- R. A. Swanson, "*Pudor* as a Criterion in Latin Literature" (1954);
- N. F. Gienapp, "Paired Expressions in Homer" (1957);
- M. Naoumides, "Greek Lexicography in the Papyri" (1961);
- R. L. Den Adel, "The Latin Vocabulary of Non-articulated Sounds" (1971);
- J. J. Prentice, "Linnaeus's *Senium Salomoneum*: Text, Translation, and Commentary" (University of Pittsburgh 1971);
- H. H. Parker, "Linnaeus on Intoxicants: Pharmacology, Sobriety, and Latinity in 18th-Century Sweden" (1977).

Professor Heller edited for the American Philological Association *Transactions and Proceedings*, vols. 76 (for 1945), 77, 78, 79 (for 1948), and 87 (for 1956), as well as five Monographs:

G. M. Bolling, *Ilias Atheniensium: The Athenian Iliad of the Sixth Century*

B.C., 1950;

H. Fraenkel, *Dichtung und Philosophie des frühen Griechentums*, 1951;

A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*, 1952;

E. A. Hahn, *Subjunctive and Optative: Their Origin as Futures*, 1953;

J. W. Poultney, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*, 1959.

Other publications are:

1932 "Burial Customs of the Romans," *CW* 25, pp. 193-97.

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Mentioned in the Zoological Works of Carl Linnaeus, c. 500 pp., deposited with the U. Illinois Press.

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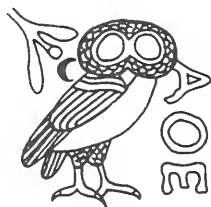
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